

the Ganges, where this script and this era were much used. The scribe is one Rāmadatta. The covers are Vaishnava in content, on one being the ten incarnations of Vishnu, on the other Krishna with the *gopīs*. The style of these covers is linked to the *Āraṇyakaparvan* Ms. from Agra (No.38) of 1516 and hence to the celebrated group of Mss. surrounding the N.C. Mehta *Caurapañcāsika* Ms. These links may be seen in the square faces and almond eyes of both male and female figures and the costume and stance of the female figures, as well as in many points of detail. They are the first dated documents of medieval non-Islamic provenance in which the projecting further eye has disappeared, the technical difficulty of converting from three-quarter profile to full profile having finally been overcome, and overcome at the very moment of painting these covers as in three instances the artist changed his mind about the projecting eye, first painting it in and then overpainting it with the red background colour. One suspects that the artist was, until just before he painted these covers, a traditional Jaina-type artist who had recently come into contact with examples of the *Caurapañcāsika*-type of painting; excited by this new style, he tried it out but occasionally forgot himself and lapsed into old habits.

British Library, London, Or.13133.

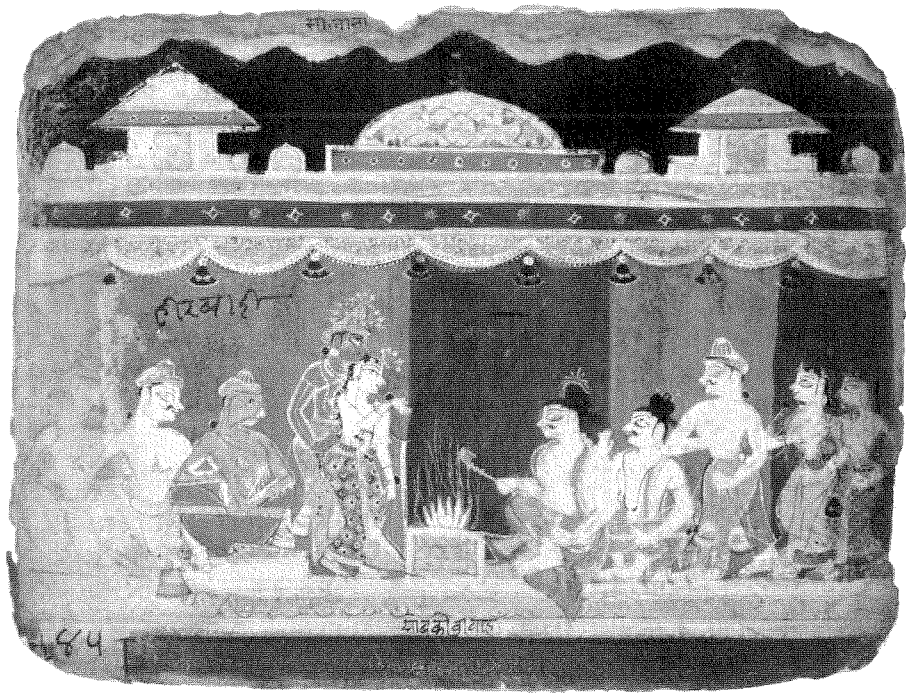
ff.36; 5 × 36.5cm; talipot leaves; Maithili script; six lines; illustrated wooden covers.

Bibliography: Losty 1977.

### 36 'Bhāgavata Purāṇa'

The classic Hindu scripture in Sanskrit extolling Vishnu as Supreme Lord of the Universe. The *Purāṇa* appears to belong to about AD 900, and it has put together all the cycles concerned with Krishna, as well as all the incarnations of Vishnu. The most important part is the tenth canto, which recounts the life of Krishna in detail, his birth and romantic adventures in Brindaban as well as his exploits as adviser to the Pāṇavas in the *Mahābhārata* and as king of the Yādavas.

One of the most important of the *Caurapañcāsika* group of manuscripts is the dispersed *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, a manuscript now so thoroughly dispersed that a detailed reconstruction is urgently required. Most important collections, both public and private, in India, Europe and the USA, have examples of it. The Ms. is in the landscape format, like the *Caurapañcāsika* and *Gītāgovinda*, all the known folios having illustrations on one side and the text on the reverse. In this latter aspect the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* differs from the other two manuscripts, which have the main text above the painting on



36 Krishna's marriage.

the recto. The *Bhāgavata* illustrations in this position have only a brief description of the subject of the painting, while the versos have a varied number of verses in at least two different hands. Sometimes a small amount of the text is written in a large hand, not unlike that of the *Caurapañcāsika* inscriptions; alternatively, another scribe has written many more verses covering most of the page in a smaller hand. Sometimes the text is written the same way up as the painting, sometimes in the opposite direction, indicating some confusion as to the place of the axis of turning—on the left side, as if it were a bound volume, or at the top, in the *poṭhī* format.

It is not clear whether the entire *Bhāgavata* was illustrated, or only the tenth canto concerned mostly with Krishna's childhood and amours. The surviving paintings seem mostly to come from this part of the text. Even so, if the whole canto was illustrated in this way, many hundreds of paintings would have been required. There is every likelihood however that the work was conceived as a picture book first of all, as the texts appear to be explanatory verses rather than part of a continuous complete manuscript.

Many of the paintings show simultaneity of action in the composition, different parts of the story being represented in different registers, so that the paintings as a whole are less satisfying than the *Caurapañcāsika* or *Gītāgovinda*. They are, however, immensely spirited in a way that these other two essentially reflective manuscripts are not—horses and chariots charge across the page, fierce battles are

fought, and so on, although there can be little doubt that the *Bhāgavata* artist is from the same school, even though later, as that of the *Caurapañcāsika* artist, being linked in innumerable details of line, colour, architecture, and landscape. The *Bhāgavata* pages have the curious inscription of Sā Nānā or Sā Mithārāma on many of the rectos. These inscriptions are in a good hand, not that of the person who wrote the heading at the top of the painting, but rather linked to the scribe who wrote in a large hand on some of the versos. As to the identity of these two persons, the most likely explanation is that they are the artists responsible for the paintings; the alternative, that they are the patrons, does not deserve much credence, as no other set has ever been found inscribed in this way.

British Museum, London, 1958, 10-11, 01.

Provenance: Gift of P.T. Brooke-Sewell. 1 folio; 17.5 × 23cm; paper, damaged at edges; *Nāgarī* on reverse.

Bibliography: Barrett and Gray 1963, pp.63-72. ND, pp.83-5.

### 37 'Gītāgovinda'

COLOUR PLATE XIV

The Song of the Cowherd, a Sanskrit lyric poem by Jayadeva, which describes the love of Rādhā and Krishna among the arbours of Brindaban, Krishna's dalliance with other ladies, Rādhā's jealousy and anger, and the lovers' final reconciliation. It is one of the most powerful of Sanskrit poems, and its influence extended far into the early vernacular literature of northern

India. Jayadeva was the court-poet of Lakshmanasena, the last Hindu ruler of Bengal in the late 12th century.

An illustrated manuscript of this work in the *Caurapañcāsika* style has survived only in a group of ten folios in the Prince of Wales Museum in Bombay. Above the paintings is inscribed a verse from the text on the usual yellow paint, while on the border below are various mysterious coloured marks. Underneath the text inscription a different hand records the number of the folio (*patra*) in the section. The text seems to have been very heavily illustrated originally, like the *Caurapañcāsika*, with one painting per verse.

The style is somewhat removed from the three other main manuscripts of this group, in that the facial features are different—much rounder heads and smaller eyes—and a much greater involvement with landscape elements. The sky however is exactly the same format—dark below, light blue above, divided by a wavy white line. This sky convention is of course found rendered precisely in the same way in the Chawand *Rāgamālā* from Mewar dated 1605, while the semi-circular bower in some of the pictures of the set is a commonplace of Mewar painting until the 18th century.

Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, Acc.54.37-46.

ff.10; 16 × 21.7cm; paper; one to two lines of *Nāgarī* at top of page; paintings c.15 × 20.5cm, within yellow frames; blank versos; numeration above pictures.

Bibliography: Khandalavala 1953-4 (reproduces all of the set, two in colour; the author has since revised his views as to date and provenance). Barrett and Gray 1963, pp.63-72. ND, pp.87-9.

### 38 'Āraṇyakaparvan' of the 'Mahābhārata'

The Great Book of the Descendants of Bharata is the national epic of India. Embodying a core of ancient narrative from the early first millennium BC, it took over a 1,000 years to reach its present shape, a vast poem in 100,000 verses, incorporating huge amounts of didactic material: legal, religious and philosophical. The original story concerns the rivalry between cousins, the five sons of Pāṇdu and the 100 sons of Dhritarashtra, over the possession of the kingdom of Hastinapura. Eventually the two sides meet on the great battle field of Kuruksetra, and it is here that Krishna, the ally of the Pāṇavas, delivers the homily called the *Bhagavadgītā*, the central text of classical Hinduism. The resultant slaughter is so great that the Pāṇavas are left with the ashes of victory, and abandon their conquered kingdom, eventually making their way to heaven.



38 f.120 (detail). The story of Bhagīratha, through whose penance the gods were forced to let the heavenly Ganges descend to earth.

In one of the earlier phases of the struggle, the Pāṇavas are exiled for 12 years. In the last year they while away the time in the forest telling stories. This is the third book of the epic, the *Āraṇyakaparvan* or Forest Book.

This Ms. of the Forest Book is a *poṭhī* Ms. on paper and is provided with a full colophon. It was copied by the scribe Bhavānīdāsa of a family of *kāyasthas* (professional scribal caste) from Gauḍa (Bengal) at the behest of Bhānadāsa Chaudharī, a Vaishnava, dwelling in Chandrapurī. The scribe copied it in the year 1573/1516 in the water-fort of Kacchauva (*Kacchauvajaladurge*) when Sultan Iskandar (Lodi, 1489-1517) was reigning in Delhi. Khandalavala and Moti Chandra have identified these places as Chandawar and Kachaura on the Jumna. There can be no doubt however, that this Ms. was done in the Lodi dominion which stretched at this period from Delhi to Jaunpur.

An interesting point of comparison with the earlier Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* of 1465 is that both Mss. were copied by Hindus, Bengal *kāyasthas*, and it may well be, illustrated as well. Whereas it might be assumed that the calligraphy in the Jaunpur manuscript deliberately took on a Jaina form, being scattered with Jaina symbols and characteristics, we nonetheless see precisely the same characteristics in this purely Hindu manuscript. The initial Jaina symbol, the frequent use of the auspicious syllable 'cha', red medallions in the verso margins, etc.

Nearly every folio of the *Āraṇyakaparvan* is illustrated, with the miniatures in a whole variety of different sizes. Some few take up the full page, others a half or a third of the page, and often these larger miniatures are divided into registers with different scenes. Sometimes the miniatures are even smaller, occupying a corner of the page, or occasionally running in a band across the bottom. This kind of freedom is associated with a group of Jaina manuscripts of the Digambara sect, mostly done in Delhi in the 15th and 16th centuries.<sup>1</sup> However, the style of these miniatures is that of the *Caurapañcāsika* group, although not exhibiting all the characteristics of that style.

In the *Āraṇyakaparvan* the draughtsmanship is nervous, and still has the remnants of the Jaina distortion of the projecting chest. Occasionally there is a projecting further eye, twice on the god Shiva. The horizon is usually a wavy band of white, but sometimes it is a high curved one. Nearly all the characters and even the objects in the miniatures are identified by their names, a characteristic of the *Caurapañcāsika* Ms. itself. These labels are not in the same hand as that of the scribe, but they do seem to resemble the hand which has gone over the manuscript filling in original omissions, and the language they use is Hindi where more than a mere name is noted.

Asiatic Society, Bombay, MS.B.D.245.

Provenance: Bhaudaji Memorial Collection.

ff.235 (out of 362); 15 × 34cm; country paper, deep-beige; 13 or 14 lines of good, regular Western *Nāgarī*, between margins ruled in red; red roundels on verso margins; most folios with miniatures, of varying sizes; unbound, no covers.

Bibliography: Bombay 1930, p.292. ND, pp.64–9. Khandalavala and Chandra 1974.

<sup>1</sup>JAA, pp.415–8.

### 39 'Saṅgrahaṇīsūtra'

Illustrated on p.51.

The Book of Compilations, a summary by Maladhāri Chandra Sūri in Prakrit verses of Jaina doctrine on cosmology, the nature and number of the upper and lower worlds, their inhabitants, etc. Chandra Sūri composed the work in AD 1136.

During the course of the 16th century it would seem that even traditional Jaina manuscripts began to be affected by the new movements in painting, and to abandon their steadfast adherence to out-moded stylistic conventions. Instead the new style of the *Caurapañcāśika* group was adopted; the projecting further eye was omitted and the human figure shown in the strict profile towards which it had been working for two centuries; more up-to-date clothing was used, such as *jāmas*, turbans, and scarves, and obviously more contemporary textile patterns instead of the conventionalized rows of *hamsas* and lotuses; and a slightly more progressive view of landscape was taken. The Ms. which best exemplifies all these trends is the *Mahāpurāṇa*, a Digambara text, dated 1597/1540–41 from Pālamva in the reign of Sher Shāh.<sup>1</sup> Although there is doubt about precisely where Pālamva may be (usually identified with the Pālam outside New Delhi), there can be no doubt that the Ms. was painted in the northern area under the control of Sher Shāh after he had ousted the Mughal Humāyūn from his throne in 1540. However, a slightly earlier Ms. of the *Uttarādhyāyasūtra*<sup>2</sup> with Gujarati notes dated 1596/1539 from Simṅanapur, which is probably the village of that name near Surat in Gujarat, shows similar stylistic changes in its two introductory miniatures, so that it may be assumed that over western and northern India as a whole there were stirrings of modernity among the Jaina artists. However the only two manuscripts of this group which name their artist, the *Mahāpurāṇa* of 1540 and the *Saṅgrahaṇī* under discussion, name Hindus, so that we may in fact be discussing a revolution in patronage in which those Jains with the money to commission new work went to artists working in the latest styles, of whatever religious persuasion, rather than to the traditionalist Jaina painters, probably monks, who saw no reason to

change their ways.

This *Saṅgrahaṇī*, whose artist is named as Govinda, is dated 1640/1583–4 from Matar, in Gujarat. It best exemplifies the influence of the *Caurapañcāśika* style on the Jaina manuscripts, with its faces in profile, its more contemporary costume, and its lively, fluent drawing, especially of dancers in motion.<sup>3</sup> There is not the slightest need to posit Mughal influence on this style, as has unfortunately been done,<sup>4</sup> as there is nothing whatever in it that is not seen in earlier Hindu manuscripts.

Lalbbhai Dalpathbhai Institute, Ahmadabad, Ill. Ms. No.195.

ff.39; 10.4 × 26.5cm; paper; ten lines of Jaina *Nāgarī* within margins in red; maps, charts, diagrams and illustrations on most folios, sometimes covering the entire page; yellow medallions with blue scroll work in outer margins of some versos; lovely scalloped medallions with pendants on outer sides of first and last folios, with four outer medallions, with arabesque designs; unbound.

Bibliography: Chandra and Shah 1975, pp.63–9, figs.41–51, col. pl.viii–x.

<sup>1</sup>ND, pp.69–78.

<sup>2</sup>British Library Or.13476, see Losty 1975, figs.19–20.

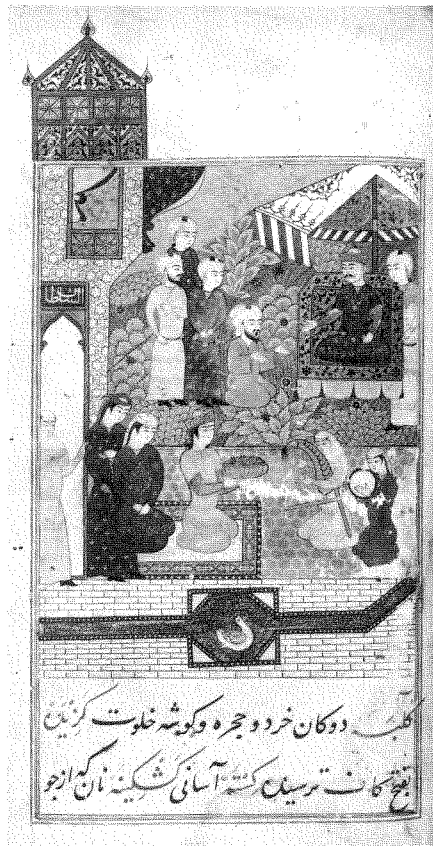
<sup>3</sup>M. Chandra and Shah 1975, pl.viii.B.

<sup>4</sup>*ibid.*, p.29.

### 40 'Miftāḥ al-Fuṣalā'

A glossary of rare words occurring in ancient Persian poems, by Muhammad ibn Dā'ūd ibn Muhammad ibn Mahmūd Shādiyābādī. The author was a native of Shadiyabad or Mandu, the capital of Malwa under the Khaljī dynasty, and wrote this work in 873/1468–9. His literary career continued into the next century (see No.43). The glossary frequently gives the 'Hindi' equivalent of the word, so that it also forms a rich source of early Urdu vocabulary. This copy of the work with its 179 miniatures in the Turkman style of Shiraz seems to have been made about 1490–1500 in Mandu and is the earliest of the group of four illustrated manuscripts associated with the Mandu Sultans.

It cannot be much earlier than the *Bustān* of 1500–2, as the calligraphy, an exceptionally large and fine *Nasta'liq*, is very probably by the same scribe as the *Bustān*, No.42, *i.e.* Shāhsavār; the main headings are in large gold *Muḥaqqaq* and the sub-headings in blue *Naskhī*, while the head-words within the body of the text are in red. The whole is exceptionally clear and colourful. There seem to be no Shirazi Mss. in this style, so that this is doubtless a Mandu invention. The artist has, as Norah Titley has pointed out, exercised his ingenuity to the full in devising pictures to explain the words and has produced as charming a set of little



40 f.242. Illustration of a *kalla*, *i.e.* a pavilion used for entertaining, in which a king is having a party.

vignettes as ever came out of Shiraz. No Indian influence is discernible except for a solitary picture (f.175a) in which a female, slate-coloured in the Persian manner to indicate her Indianness, wears a large round earring, seen in other early 16th-century Indian manuscripts, and a skirt and blouse, and the occasional architectural detail such as arches which are reminiscent of those in Mandu. There are three paintings in which a king is portrayed, on two of which he wears the normal drooping moustache of Turkman painting. On one, however, illustrating the golden sandals worn by a king on f.146b, the king has an upturned moustache with separated ends as worn by the king in the *Nīmatnāma*, and this is possibly meant to be Ghiyāth ad-Dīn Khaljī himself.

British Library, London, Or.3299.

ff.306; 30 × 17.5cm; light-brown paper much wormed; ten lines of large *Nasta'liq* with headings in gold *Muḥaqqaq* and blue *Naskhī* in panels 20.3 × 12cm ruled in gold, black and blue; one *sarlavḥ*, in Shiraz style; 179 miniatures, usually vignettes in the text without formal framing, sometimes with stepped upper edges; covers of dark brown leather with stamped medallion and corner pieces, let into an outer frame of darker colour, rear

doublure of plain red leather with painted gold frames, brown leather spine.

Bibliography: BM 1895, p.116. BL 1977, pp.151–4 [repro. of f.259b]. Titley 1964–5. Lewis 1976, pp.52–3 (col. repro. of ten of the miniatures).

### 41 'Nīmatnāma-i Nāsir ad-Dīn Shāhī'

COLOUR PLATE XII

The Book of Recipes of Nāsir ad-Dīn Shāh of Mandu. A recipe book in Persian with methods for cooking all sorts of delicacies, aphrodisiacs, and other epicurean delights, which seems originally to have been for the benefit of the sybaritic Ghiyāth ad-Dīn Khaljī, Nāsir ad-Dīn's father. The text is illustrated with 50 miniatures, showing the king looking on while some of his innumerable women attendants prepare the dishes. The text is written in a large and beautiful *Naskhī* that may possibly be by the same scribe as Nos.40 and 42. The headings in red give the same colourful effect.

The miniatures are the work of two different hands, both of them using a provincial Turkman Shirazi idiom, but with significant Indian characteristics. Many of the human figures, particularly the women, are in strict profile, and wear Indian costume, while the architecture is in places totally Indian, using heavy projecting eaves supported by elaborately carved brackets, as well as the small domes typical of Mandu architecture. Many features may be found in other Indian manuscripts of the 16th century. There are occurrences of the ladies in the costume, and occasionally with the profile, of one of the ladies of the Bombay *Candāyana* Ms. (ff.100b and 136b) (No.45), and on one occasion with the profile of Champāvati in the *Caurapañcāśika* (f.83b). The costume is the bodice, skirt with *paṭkā* with a projecting corner, and the stiff *orhnī* held out like a wing. Trees frequently recall the Bombay *Candāyana*. There are many misunderstandings, or rather reinterpretations, of Persian conventions. On one painting the lush Turkman vegetation is arranged in heavy vertical rows, while there is an inability to distinguish between the conventions for the ground and for the sky. In the *Nīmatnāma*, a convention which makes the sky half gold for its lower portion and half blue for its upper, has been interpreted so that the gold half is a continuation of the ground and is sprinkled with clumps of flowers.

Many of the characteristics of this Ms. are followed up in the earliest Deccani manuscripts known to us, the *Tarikh-i Husayn Shāhī* and the *Nujūm al-'Ulūm* (No.50). The prevalent *Nīmatnāma* female adornment of a heavy gold ring round the neck is seen in both these manuscripts. Also present in the

*Nīmatnāma* are men in the Deccani costume of a long gown fastened up the middle and tied with a sash about the waist; one of the insignia of royalty is a flapping scarf, as in the Deccan; while many of the colour combinations and effects are forerunners of the colour clashes seen in Deccani painting throughout its important phase. It is possible either that these two Mandu painters were recruited from an early Deccani school of which no other trace has survived, or that they or their artistic heirs migrated to the Deccan courts somewhat later in the 16th century.

The Ms. of the *Nīmatnāma* is disarranged and incomplete. In particular the first four folios are later replacements so that the contents of the original title-page are not known. The present title of the work is based on the title inscribed in the illuminated heading on f.162b, the last section being a supplement added by Nāsir ad-Dīn. However, although the Ms. was completed in the reign of Nāsir ad-Dīn, who is spoken of as living, the main text at least, with its references to Ghiyāth ad-Dīn Shāh, was probably commenced in the reign of his predecessor. The Ms. can therefore be dated c.1495–1505.

India Office Library, London, Persian Ms.149.

ff.196; 31 × 21.5cm; light-brown paper; first four folios later replacements, some lacunae; ten lines of bold *Naskhī* with headings in red in panels 22.5 × 15cm, with margins ruled in gold, black, and blue (the same as No.40); one *sarlavḥ* on f.162b; 50 miniatures, all smaller than the text panels, and usually not so wide, and with stepped upper edges, but some protruding into the margins, usually without a formal frame; oriental cover, disbound.

Bibliography: IOL 1903, No.2775. Skelton 1958. ND, pp.58–63, col. repro. of two folios.

### 42 'Bustān'

COLOUR PLATE XIII

The Flower-garden of Sa'dī, a famous Persian work of moral tales, by the poet Muslih ad-Dīn Sa'dī (c.585–690/1189–1291).

In addition to the Shirazi work associated with Mandu, there also has survived a copy of the *Bustān* of Sa'dī illustrated for Nāsir ad-Dīn Khaljī (1500–10) with 43 miniatures in a provincial version of the style of Herat.

The Ms. is a splendidly written copy, the scribe being named as Shāhsavār al-Kātib, although this seems more a title (master-scribe) than a name. The script is a large and elegant *Nasta'liq*, and both it and the good, creamy-brown paper resemble very closely the similar appearance of the *Miftāḥ al-Fuṣalā* (No.40). It is possible that Shāhsavār also copied the

*Nīmatnāma* text (No.41), but this is in *Naskhī* rather than *Nasta'liq*, although it does follow the same tradition of a very large style of script, which is probably unique to Mandu at this period.

The miniatures of the manuscript are in a style based on that of Herat, but, it must be clearly stated, are in no sense to be confused with the work produced in that city at this period.<sup>1</sup> Herat at the close of the 15th century under Sultan Husayn Bayqara had, in his principal court artist, Bihzad, the greatest painter Iran has ever produced, and his work and that of his immediate circle is renowned for its subtlety of colour and brilliance of composition. The miniatures of the *Bustān* share with this school the same general approach to composition, to figure types, and to colouring, favouring in the latter a cool palette, particularly blue, but are otherwise in a completely different category. The *Bustān* miniatures are of two sorts, the first of which, by far the smaller, may possibly be accepted as the work of an Iranian artist trained in the general Herati manner (such as ff.33a, 102b, 154a), but as for the rest, they reveal by the awkwardness of their compositions and placing of characters and the general harshness of the colours in their combinations that they are the work of an artist working in a totally foreign style, who even makes mistakes such as holding a tent over a king's head rather than a parasol (f.106b). He seems often unable to distinguish between the ground and background walls, so that characters float against an indeterminate pattern of either. We see the Ms. as the work of two artists, one possibly from Herat but more likely a better assimilator of an alien tradition than the other, obviously an Indian. The Herat tradition could have come to Mandu either through an artist or simply with a manuscript which served as a standard. The artists do not, it may be conceded, show any signs of other Indian styles, even contemporary Mandu ones, but practically every detail of their architectural decoration is different from what would be expected in an Iranian manuscript. Stone and brickwork are arranged in lovely patterns throughout, including *svastika* patterns, while the coloured tilework shows some striking combinations of brightly coloured floral arabesques over a black ground which we now know to be characteristic of Indian illumination from at least the late 14th century (see No.18). All of this surely reveals an Indian origin, and in one or two instances, such as the mosque-scene (f.137b) points specifically to features of Mandu architecture.<sup>2</sup> We need not hesitate then to accept this as Mandu work, especially since one of the paintings (f.190a) has now been discovered to bear the minute inscription 'Haji Mahmūd at Mandu'.<sup>3</sup> The artist's



name is also known, as Ettinghausen pointed out, from the inscription on the *sarlavḥ* on f.1b, where it is clear that he was also the illuminator. As for the date, the inscription on the illuminated *shamsa* on f.1a tells us that the manuscript was prepared for Nāsir Shāh as reigning Sultan (1500–10), while on the colophon page there is an *ārzīdā* (inspection notice) dated 908/1502–3. The manuscript therefore may be securely dated to Mandu in the period 1500–3. A defaced note on f.1a records that it was presented (?) by Pazand Chand to Akbar at Ahmadnagar in 100–(?)<sup>4</sup>.

National Museum, New Delhi, 48.6/4.

ff.229; 34 × 23.5cm; good creamy-brown paper; nine lines of large *Nasta'liq* in two columns in panels 25 × 16.5cm with margins ruled in gold and blue; headings in blue, gold, or red *Naskhī* across both columns; illuminated *shamsa*, with 'ex libris' in white *Thuluth* on gold in an eight-lobed roundel, with 15th-century Shirazi-type illumination; one *sarlavḥ*; 43 miniatures, mostly about one third of the panel in size, and often L-shaped; dark-brown leather binding with medallion and corner-pieces stamped in gold, and plain doublures.

Bibliography: Ettinghausen 1959. MIC, pp.94–5, with col. repro. of f.154a.

<sup>1</sup>ND, p.9, where Khandalavala states that the Ms. was probably prepared in Herat as a present.

<sup>2</sup>Precise resemblance of painting to architecture is not to be expected at this period, but the appearance of the pillars and arches in this and in f.134a is highly reminiscent of Mandu architecture—see Marg, vol.xii, No.3, pp.18–19.

<sup>3</sup>I am indebted for this information to Dr Narendranath, Keeper of Manuscripts in the National Museum.

<sup>4</sup>This person is doubtless Chand Bibi, who defended Ahmadnagar against the Mughal armies in 1600. If the inscription is authentic, it raises intriguing questions of how the Ms. got from Mandu to Ahmadnagar. It may have been taken to Bijapur after the fall of Mandu to Akbar in 1562, and had some influence along with other Mandu Mss. in shaping the early Deccan style. Chand Bibi, daughter of Husayn Shāh of Ahmadnagar was married to the ruler of Bijapur, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I (1557–80), and on her return to her native country on her widowhood may have taken this manuscript with her.

#### 43 'Ajā'ib aṣ-Ṣanāi'

Illustrated on p.42.

A Persian translation of *Kitāb fī mā'rifat al-ḥiyāl al-handasiyya* (Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices) by Ibn ar-Razzāz al-Jazarī, an Arabic treatise on automata written for Nāsir ad-Dīn, the Artuqī King of Diyarbaka (in Mesopotamia) and completed between 1204 and 1206. The Persian translation is by Muhammad ibn Dā'ūd Shādiyābādī, who is now known to have been active at Mandu between 1468 (see No.40) and 1509, the date of this Ms., which is almost certainly the fair copy of the work. According to the preface, the

translation was commissioned by Nāsir Shāh (Sultan of Mandu, 1500–10), although what was actually commissioned was a translation of another Arabic scientific work of the 9th century, the Kitāb al-*Ḥiyāl* of the Banū Mūsā, of the 9th century. Shādiyābādī clearly believed that this was the work he was translating. The colophon states the copy was finished on Sa'bān 16, without stating the year, with a note beside it, by the translator, certifying the copy with the date 4 Shavvāl 914 (AD 1509).<sup>1</sup>

Manuscripts of al-Jazarī's work are usually illustrated with drawings of the various devices he describes, and this one is no exception. Early illustrated Mss. of this text come from Syria and Egypt, in particular two dispersed Mss. dated 1315 and 1354 respectively. These are illustrated in Mamluq style. 15th-century Mss. are copies of these, such as the Bodleian Ms. Graves 27, dated 891/1486. The illustrations in the Mandu Ms. are taken from a similar type of 15th century Ms. There are approximately 175 drawings, coloured mostly in vigorous reds, yellows, blues, and greens, adhering to the traditional diagrams, although with discrepancies from the best illustrated versions, indicating that the artist was copying from a defective manuscript or that he left out parts of the devices not realizing their importance. A small number have human figures from which stylistic judgements may be made. The human figures are of two main types, one a slender elegant figure, with long *jāma*, cummerbund, and small neat turbans, similar in fact to those of the *Ni'matnāma*, though much less accomplished. The other is a much squatter figure, more crude, with a gown fastened up the front (*peshvaz*), and turbans which resemble those of certain Muslims represented in Jaina Mss. Occasionally one of the more elegant figures has the *peshvaz* or a small pointed cap instead of a turban. Of the four known illustrated manuscripts prepared for the Khaljī Sultans of Mandu, this must be the latest; it is completely distanced from the Shiraz and Herat influences seen in the other manuscripts (Nos.40–2). Architectural features of the buildings of Mandu, particularly the many-lobed windows and pools in the palace buildings (f.61b), occur occasionally in the miniatures.

British Library, London, Or.13718.

ff.191; 22 × 14.5cm; paper, thin, much wormholed; *Naskhī* script, 21 lines; illustrations; *sarlavḥ*, 19th century; modern binding.

Bibliography: Hill 1974. Coomaraswamy 1924. Chaghatai 1963.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to M. I. Waley for this information.

#### 44 'Sharafnāma'

COLOUR PLATE XV

The first part of the *Iskandarnāma*, the Book of Alexander the Great, describing his victories, by the Persian poet Nizāmī (1140–1202). The author is regarded as the greatest of *mathnavī* writers, and spent most of his life in Ganjah, unattached to any court. Mandu, prior to the recent discovery and publication of this manuscript, was the only unimpeachable source of Sultanate painting, with manuscripts in styles related directly to those of contemporary Shiraz and Herat. This Ms. was copied in 938/1531–2 by Ahmad called Hamīd Khān for Nusrat Shāh Sultan of Bengal, and is in a style sufficiently distinct from possible Iranian sources to argue a considerable period of independent development in Bengal itself. The basic style is that of mid-15th-century Shiraz, with certain elements such as the rock formations on f.41b suggestive even of 14th-century Iranian painting. Of paintings from Muslim Bengal of earlier date, there is however no sign, and of the various hitherto unattributable Sultanate paintings, only one can now be attributed to this very distinctive style of Bengal.<sup>1</sup>

Distinctively Indian are the architectural details—cusped arches, brickwork alternating with polychrome tiles, terracotta tiles, *chattris*, projecting eaves with brackets, much of it featured in the surviving buildings of Gaur and Pandua. Other features of Sultanate painting are the predilection for people to stand in rows, the drawing of some of the horses, the strange round faces of the women with long hanging braids, and the depiction of their bosom. Unique to this manuscript are the sharply pointed caps round which the turban cloths are wound, which in one instance look as if they are meant to be Safavid baton turbans (f.53b). The highly charged colourful skies seem based on a certain Shirazi feature, but are here perhaps even hotter and more fanciful than their originals. There are certain non-Iranian features in the illumination—many pages have triangular panels of illumination on either side of obliquely written verses, in a style peculiar to itself. There is a double-page *'umwān* (ff.4b–5a) in fairly conventional format, though again with some original features—the white dots on the blue margins, the knotwork between the palmettes, etc. The colophon is enclosed in an ogival medallion with illumination of archaic appearance.

British Library, London, Or.13836.

ff.72; 31 × 20cm; polished paper; elegant *Naskhī*; 29 lines, in four columns in panels 23 × 14cm; margins ruled in gold and colours; one double-page *'umwān*; alternate openings sprinkled with gold; many

pages with triangular panels of illumination round obliquely written lines; headings alternately in gold or blue *Naskhī* across two columns; nine miniatures all smaller than the text panels; colophon in ogival medallion; 19th-century binding.

Bibliography: IP, pp.135–52.

<sup>1</sup>Melikian-Chirvani 1969, fig.1.

#### 45 'Candāyana'

COLOUR PLATE XVI

A poem in Avadhi or eastern Hindi by Maulana Dā'ūd (No.34).

Perhaps the most beautiful surviving manuscript of the Sultanate period is this copy of the *Candāyana* in the Prince of Wales Museum in Bombay, which came to them as a bound volume of 68 miniatures. Like all the *Candāyana* sets, the text is in *Naskhī* script on the verso, here arranged in 12 lines of red and black ink, each two-line couplet being in its own little margined panel, one red couplet having two black couplets side by side underneath it.

The paintings, all of them of course in the vertical format, can only be the product of a sophisticated Muslim court, whose artists had, at some previous stage, been exposed to considerable Shiraz influence, but who had long since passed the stage of imitation. Thus the high circular horizon, the decoration of the landscape with flowers, and domed architecture are basically all motifs taken from Iranian painting, but in fact they are all used in a different way. The artist was not happy with his high horizon, preferring to adopt the horizontal viewpoint, and to split his composition into two separate registers, rather than attempt to depict figures and action in the middleground. Landscape and architecture are decorated with a fantastic array of arabesque designs, while the domed architecture is often simply a layer across the top of the painting, as seen in the Berlin *Candāyana*, without structural support. Sometimes also he indulges in using architecture for pattern-making, as seen in the late 16th-century Mss. from Golconda (Nos.48–9). The colour range is wide, far wider than the hot colours of the *Caurapañcāsika* group, involving cool blues, greens, pinks and mauves, with lavish use of gold. The human figures are of the same basic type as the *Caurapañcāsika* style, but more subtly drawn and without angularity. The profile of both males and females is less square, with both forehead and chin being less prominent. Chandā and her attendants are usually so depicted, but sometimes her rival Mainā has a profile that recalls a similar one in the *Ni'matnāma* (No.41).

The marked development from a Shirazi base implies a *terminus post quem* of about 1500, and the presence of many of

the characteristics of the style in the Cleveland Museum *Ṭūṭīnāma* gives us c.1565 as a *terminus ante quem*. Gaur is ruled out as a provenance, as we know what its style was like in this period (No.44), and of the others, only Mandu has yet been proved to have a court studio (Nos.40–3). There is in fact a most marked resemblance between certain features of the *Ni'matāma* from Mandu, and this *Candāyana*, in particular the presence in the former (on f.100b) of a lady with features the same as in this Ms., while there is a marked similarity in the rendition of some of the trees, particularly that with beautiful curving trunk and round or ellipsoid top<sup>1</sup>, which occurs also in the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of 1439. It is in fact not difficult to imagine these paintings as the product of the Mandu studio some decades after the *Ni'matnāma* had been produced. As noted in discussing the *Ni'matnāma* certain very distinctive colour effects and combinations link that Ms. with this *Candāyana* and then with the Deccani manuscripts of the latter part of the 16th century.

Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, Acc.57.1/1–68.

ff.68; 27 × 21cm; paper; text in 12 lines on versos in alternate double-lines of red and black *Naskhī* within separately margined panels; 68 paintings on rectos (approx. 19 × 14cm) within margins ruled in gold and colours; originally bound, now mounted separately; some folios from this set now in other collections.<sup>2</sup>

Bibliography: ND, pp.94–9, figs. 156–75 and col. plate 24 (Jaunpur is the preferred provenance). Chandra 1976, pp. 48–9, plates 106–11. ('A north Indian provenance . . . perhaps for the Candāyana group' i.e. this and the Manchester *Candāyana*, No.46.)

<sup>1</sup>Compare ff.14b and 18a of the *Ni'matnāma*, reproduced in ND, fig.137, with fig.165 of the latter, one of the Bombay *Candāyana* folios.

<sup>2</sup>IP, p.17 (see references cited therein).

#### 46 'Candāyana'

Illustrated on p.52.

The romance in Avadhi Hindi by Maulānā Dā'ūd (see No.34).

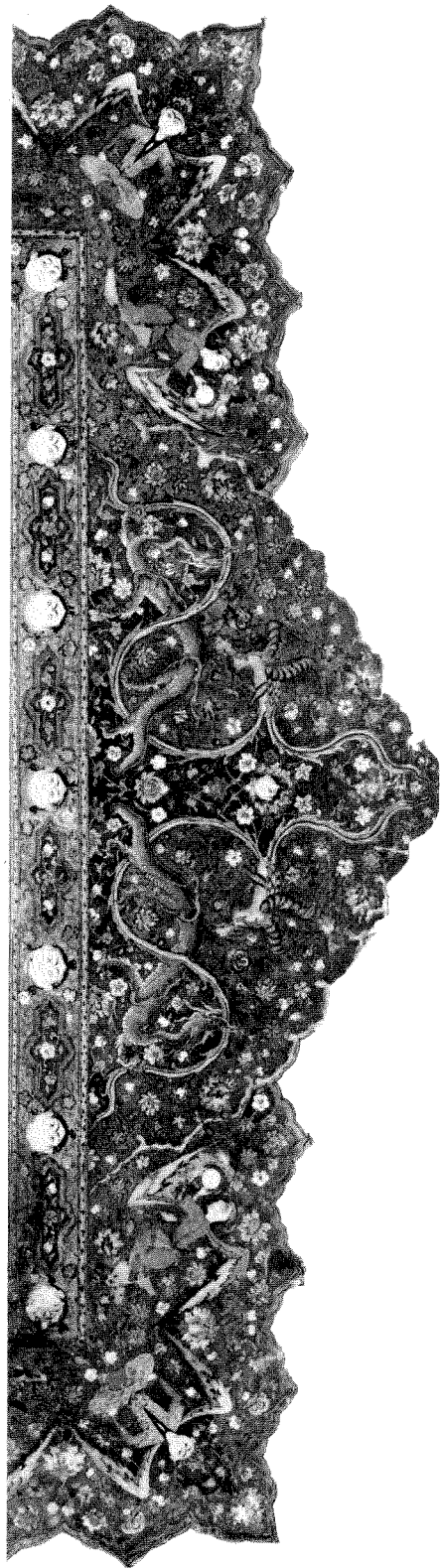
This heavily illustrated copy is lacking its beginning and end, and about one quarter of the text appears to be missing. Even so, the 318 surviving folios with 285 illustrations render it the most complete of the surviving versions of this romance. Like all the other versions of this text, the Ms. is in reality a picture book with explanatory text; only some 33 of the folios have text on both sides. The remainder have a full-size painting on the recto, and the text on the verso. The unillustrated passages of the text occur in places where the same picture would have to be many times

repeated such as the *bājir*'s lengthy recital of Chandā's charms, or where Laurak gains access to Chandā's chamber and their love-making is described, although in the latter instance the artist has included two full-bloodedly erotic scenes.

The style of the illustrations links this Ms. very firmly with the incomplete Bombay *Candāyana* (No.45). The compositional structure is very similar, with a high, round horizon, or architectural feature across the top, with domes. Often the composition is divided into two registers. The colouring is very similar, with gold or gold and blue skies, sometimes with white cloud arabesque, and monochrome grounds of different hues, while the combinations of blues, reds, pinks, greens and yellows occur in both manuscripts. Neither artist is happy with the high horizon, and adapts it superficially to include his own preference for a horizontal viewpoint. Unable to adapt to the necessity of placing his figures within a landscape, the Manchester artist consistently has his figures standing on a lower band of architectural detail (such as a stepped pool) or landscape detail (a fairly solid band of green grass, strongly differentiated from the rest of the ground) or simply an unspecific band of colour.

The Manchester Ms. is lacking the elaborately beautiful arabesques which cover so much of the plain colours of the Bombay manuscript, while its artist has made much use of an elaborate double-storeyed architectural motif—a pillar supports an architrave with a projecting eave, which is supported by carved brackets with drooping boss. The upper storey usually has an elegant oriel window, through which the heroine is often seen, with tile decoration above and below. Of particular note are the developments in the human figure in the Manchester Ms.; the male figure with *kulāhdār* turban, short *jāma* with two hanging points in front, and tight *paijāma*, with curving moustache and darker-toned chin and jowls, is a somewhat more elegant version of the Bombay Laurak. The female on the other hand is decidedly an advance, her features having been regularized to conform more to the male type. She wears with her bodice and *orḥnī* either the tight skirt with projecting *paṭkā* or a full-bottomed skirt that is seen in Indian painting for the first time in this Ms. The *orḥnī* can stand out stiffly, or it can be draped elegantly over the head to fall over her side.

The Bombay and Manchester *Candāyanas* are sufficiently close for them to come from the same school but with some quarter-century difference in time between them. If the Bombay Ms. is close enough to the *Ni'matnāma* (No.41) to make Mandu a likely provenance, then the Manchester Ms. likewise must be from



47 f.1b. Detail of 'unvān with heads, angels and dragons.

Mandu, doubtless at a date closer to its final fall before the Mughals in 1562. It does not appear to have any recognizable effect on later Mss., whereas the Bombay *Candāyana* style is fully recognizable in the Cleveland *Tūjīnāma*, a Ms. to be dated c.1560–5, at the beginning of Akbar's studio. The Manchester Ms. would thus be the last effort of a Sultanate court before being absorbed by the Mughals, and if this is Mandu, then it must be dated about 1560, and in the reign of Baz Bahādūr.

John Rylands University Library of Manchester, Hindustani MS.1.

Provenance: Acquired for the Bibliotheca Lindesiana of the Earls of Crawford in 1866 from the collection of Nathaniel Bland; and then with the rest of that collection acquired for the Rylands Library in 1901.

ff.318 (numbered 1–326); 23.4 × 14.7cm; text panels light-brown paper 14.2 × 8.2cm, remargined in 19th-century oriental paper with foliation in Arabic script 1–326; nine lines of *Naskhī* in panels with margins ruled in gold, black, red and blue; text arranged in four compartments in two lines above and below, and five lines of verses on either side of a dividing column in the middle; text in black with names and significant lines in blue or red, a colourful effect like the Mandu Mss; 285 illustrations, same size as text panels, with some upper projections into margins; 19th-century oriental cover, European spine.

Bibliography: Khandalavala etc. 1962. Barrett and Gray 1963, p.69. ND, pp.99–103, with col. repro. of f.149a.

#### 47 'Zakhīra-i Khwārizmshāh'

A medical encyclopaedia in Persian, by Zain ad-Dīn Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'īl al-Jurjānī (d.531/1136–7). The author lived in Khwārizm from 504/1110–1, and dedicated his encyclopaedia to its ruler Muhammad, son of Nūstigin, Khwārizmshāh.

This copy was made by Faqīr Bābā Mirak of Herat in 980/1572, at Golconda. It has no illustrations, but bears beautiful illuminations in a purely Persian style, indicative of the strong metropolitan Persian artistic links with Golconda at this period when the other Deccani kingdoms were fast developing their own independent styles. The elaborate 'unvān has the normal illuminated panels round the opening of the text, and then two separate borders, the first of cartouches separated by heads and then a much wider border of gold (interior) and blue (exterior), the divide between the two colours being of angels, and, in the *ansas* in the middle of the long side, of dragons. This would appear to be of Khorasani provenance.

There are besides some 10 headpieces of similarly inventive designs, each different, of which one has an elaborate design of paeonies and another of simurghs.

Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ind. MS.30.

ff.604; 32.5 × 22.5cm; paper; 27 lines of *Nasta'liq* in panels 21.5 × 14cm; 1 'unvān; 10 *sarlavhs*; bound in brown morocco.

Bibliography: Skelton 1973, fig.152.

#### 48 'Sindbadnāma'

Illustrated on p.54.

Book of Sindbad, an anonymous Persian version of the tales of Sindbad. This extremely rare copy seems to exist in no other version, and is moreover remarkable for its miniatures.

It has been considered for some while that this undated Ms. whose style rests on that of Shiraz might ultimately be found a home in India. Now that more Mss. have been found with elements of the Safavid style but obviously Indian, it is possible to narrow the provenance. The Ms. is distinguished from contemporary Iranian work in various ways. The hand is a good but not elegant *Nasta'liq*, rather cramped, with thick strokes, a typical Indian hand. The illumination of opening medallion and *sarlavh* is remarkable only for the looseness of the arabesque work on the blue background. The 72 miniatures are in a style based on the Turkman school of Shiraz c.1500 with significant additions from the Safavid school, particularly that practised in Shiraz later in the 16th century.

Some of the paintings are particularly dense compositions of the type known from Golconda in the late 16th century, with very thick application of paint and busy, even fussy, detail. This is true in particular of many of the opening paintings, such as the double-page frontispiece of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, with its crowded animals and people, and busy ground of Turkman vegetation. There are also some lovely passages of architectural decoration by this same artist, with brilliant tilework. Throughout, however, the basic figure drawing is exceptionally crude, with eyes and hands in particular very badly drawn. On occasion the artist forgets himself enough to draw a face in profile but gives it two eyes (f.154a). Costumes throughout are of the Deccani type, with long gowns opening down the front, and very often a looped girdle round the waist. The turban is very often the Safavid baton turban, and occasionally of the very earliest type as seen in the Uppsala University Library *Jamāl va Jalīl*.<sup>1</sup>

The most outstanding characteristic of the paintings, however, is the imaginative,

indeed fantastic, use of architecture as decoration. Beginning quite soberly with large-scale architectural backgrounds, which are always entirely two-dimensional in the Iranian tradition, but with marked propensity for oriel windows supported on brackets protruding into the margins, and with imaginative use of tilework decoration to cover his surfaces, the artist progresses throughout the manuscript to a point where he is indulging in pattern-making with architectural blocks without any regard to the building he is depicting. Architraves and parapets are prolonged and twisted to enclose tilework and windows, domes become *sarlavhs* or *ansas* (triangular marginal illuminations); thrones are subsumed into the pattern-making, their bottoms curving round to match their tops. Features such as these argue a style totally isolated from its traditions, an art practised in a provincial centre without any renewals from its roots, although this, of course, does not necessarily point to an Indian provenance. Specifically Indian, however, are the brackets and oriel windows, some of the costume details mentioned above, and some of the animal drawing in the frontispiece; combined with features such as the erased Qutb Shāh seal of Golconda on f.1a (an absolutely unmistakable shape but not readable), and Telugu captions throughout the manuscript, they point to a southern Indian provenance that can hardly be other than Golconda at this date.

The use of baton turbans at the Safavid court in Tabriz seems to have not lasted any longer than about 1560, so that there must have been direct influence from the Safavid style on Indian court styles in the first half of the 16th century. The Lalbhai *Khamsa* of Nizāmī is a product of such influence, in which paintings in a sub-Tabriz manner alternate with others in a provincial Iranian style and yet others in a Sultanate style.<sup>2</sup> The *Sindbadnāma* reveals influences from the Safavid style of Shiraz, from the earlier Turkman Shiraz style, and occasional details of even earlier provenance such as 14th-century rocks. A studio must have been set up in the first half of the 16th century with artists from Iran working with artists used to a Sultanate school and to the Turkman Shiraz style. The *Sindbadnāma* has assimilated these styles and the original direct imported influence has disappeared, which argues for a date c.1575. At this date Golconda was the only Indian court keeping to some semblance of the Iranian tradition; both Ahmadnagar and Bijapur had developed their own styles and there were no northern courts outside the Mughal one.

India Office Library, London, Persian MS.3214.

ff.166; 24.5 × 15cm; paper darkish-brown, occasional section on blue paper; text in *Nasta'liq* in two columns (some verses on bias) in 16 lines in panels 16.5 × 8cm with margins ruled in gold; *shamsa* on f.1a, lobed circular medallion; *sarlavh* on f.2b; 72 miniatures, mostly larger than the text areas, making much use of the margins; erased seals and inscriptions on f.1a; Telugu notes on early miniatures; red morocco cover with stamped medallion and corner-pieces.

Bibliography: IOL 1903, No.1236. Robinson 1951. Stchoukine 1959, p.137, and plates LXXVIII–IX, reproducing folios 120a and 36b.

<sup>1</sup>Zetterstéen and Lamm 1948.

<sup>2</sup>P. Chandra 1976, plates 97–105.

#### 49 'Anvār-i Suhaylī'

Illustrated on p.54.

The Lights of Canopus, by Husayn Vā'iz al-Kāshifī who lived in Herat under Sultan Husayn Bayqara, where he died in 910/1504–5.

The work is a revision in more contemporary and artificial Persian style of Nasr Allāh's *Kalīla va Dimna*, a book of fables based ultimately via Arabic, Syriac and Pahlavi translations on the Sanskrit *Pañcatantra*. The fable is one of the earliest Indian literary forms, and the *Pañcatantra* (the Five Books) its earliest and most famous expression. Through the translations into the above languages, the stories spread ultimately to Europe in the Middle Ages.

This Ms. affords another example of the influence of Safavid Shiraz on the court style of Golconda. Here, however, there is no obvious pointer like the Telugu captions or erased Qutb Shāh seal of the *Sindbadnāma* (No.48), but instead there is a very close resemblance between the two manuscripts in the way they have taken the standard elements of Iranian composition and subjected them to a process of pattern-making without parallel in India. Again and again elements of the architecture such as brackets or architraves or domes are twisted out of their natural function to become elements of design—architraves are looped around on themselves to enclose illuminated cartouches, or domes are converted into *ansas*, or the frame of the painting bulges into the margin in a semi-circle, as if it were to enclose a panel of Koran illumination. Other resemblances to the *Sindbadnāma* include the trees—very tall date-palms extending into the upper margin (f.262a), looped up draperies such as curtains in doorways (f.327a), the same type of cavorting horses (f.124b), the elements of the architecture such as oriel

windows supported by brackets in the margins, and utilization of the margins for people to stand in; specifically Indian are the occasional projecting eye and the well-drawn animals—especially in the episode of the elephants and hares (ff.196b and 199a), and of the monkeys leading the bears into the wilderness (ff.218b/219a). Also worthy of note are the enormous leaves covering the ground (f.207b), which are possibly derived from variants of the Turkman Shiraz style seen in the *Nīmatnāma*, as well as brilliantly hued clouds and skies in red, blue and gold, reminiscent of the 1531 *Sharafnāma*. There is one appearance of a Safavid baton turban (f.303a), and one Deccani turban (f.114a). Like the *Sindbadnāma*, the *Anvār-i Suhaylī* starts off with a series of very densely composed and busy paintings like those in the *Kulliyāt* of Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh before suddenly simplifying its style and beginning its indulgence in pattern-making.

The original date in the colophon has been rewritten to read 990/1582. There is, however, nothing inherently implausible in this dating, knowing as we do the long-continued Shiraz influence in Golconda, before the emergence of the Golconda style proper in the court studio. Doubtless the modified Shiraz style went on being used in the city for longer. The original colophon could easily have been damaged in remargining and was rewritten.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London, I.S. 13-1962.

Provenance: Erskine of Torr Collection, Dunimarle Castle, Fife.

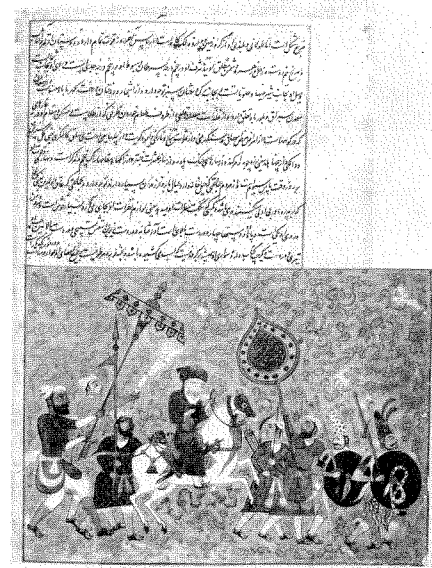
ff.441; 26.5 × 16cm; deep-brown paper with some blue sections; 18 lines of *Nasta'liq*, a rather cramped hand like No.48, in panels 15.5 × 9cm with gold-ruled margins; illuminated panel f.1a, medallion and corner pieces with field of green vegetation (!); illuminated margins in blue and gold round double-page frontispiece of hunting and court-scene (ff.1b/2a); *sarlavh* f.2b; chapter-headings in gold and blue; 126 paintings, mostly extending over margins; dark red European covers.

Bibliography: Robinson 1951, No.144. Stchoukine 1959 (repro. of ff.191b and 207b). [Both the above held this like the *Sindbadnāma* to be provincial Iranian; Robinson had changed his mind by 1967, and held them to be Indian—see Robinson 1967, p.113.]

#### 50 'Nujūm al-'Ulūm'

The Stars of the Sciences, an anonymous work on astronomy, astrology and magic, followed by chapters on the horse, the elephant, and various kinds of weapons. The work appears to be unique, and no other manuscript has been found other





50 f.37b. The planet Jupiter with attendants. The two leaders are in the costume of Vijayanagar.

than an apparently 17th-century copy from this manuscript in the same collection (Ind. MS.54). The work is illustrated with 876 miniatures in an early Deccani style, and is dated three times to 978/1570. A note by a former owner records that the Ms. was once the property of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II of Bijapur (1580–1626).

The provenance of this Ms. is, of course, not certainly proved to be from Bijapur by this dubious inscription, and the fact that the other Ms. of the work also bears the same date of 978/1570 gives rise to the suspicion that both of them may be later copies from a third Ms. bearing this date authentically. However, the nature of the illustrations in this manuscript is such that to assume they were 17th-century or later would needlessly complicate the now generally accepted chronology of Deccani painting; the only corroborating piece of evidence for a later dating is the date of the *Javāhir al-Mūsīqāt* (No.51), which is assigned to the reign of Muhammad 'Adil Shāh of Bijapur (1626–56) in a later hand, but which contains miniatures in an archaic style linked very loosely to the miniatures of the *Nujūm al-'Ulūm*. The argument, of course, is circular, but in support of an early dating we may call in evidence the *Tarikh-i Husayn Shāhī* in Poona, which is datable to 1565–9 from Ahmadnagar.<sup>1</sup> The archaic draughtsmanship of the two 'Bijapuri' manuscripts here finds corroborating support.

The majority of the illustrations of the *Nujūm al-'Ulūm* are of the signs of the Zodiac and their various degrees, organized nine to the page from ff.22b–52b, but there are some more representational subjects, such as the famous Throne of Prosperity on f.191a, or the procession of a king on f.37b, representing the planet

Mushtari or Jupiter. Both these may be linked to Vijayanagar, the Hindu kingdom of south India overthrown by the combined forces of the Muslim Sultans of the Deccan in 1565. The former depicting a ziggurat showing both sides in a schematic way is the great throne platform still visible among the Vijayanagar ruins.<sup>2</sup> The latter shows an old king or shaikh on horseback in procession, preceded by two men who are wearing the tall conical hats which are associated in the *Tarikh-i Husayn Shāhī* illustrations with the forces of the Vijayanagar army (ff.43b, 44a).

The linear qualities of the drawing in the *Nujūm al-'Ulūm* are echoed in the Ahmadnagar manuscript, although in the latter there is a starkness of decoration, without any of the sumptuous colour combinations and arabesques which are found throughout the Bijapur manuscript, and which are, we have argued, a legacy from Mandu. Common to both manuscripts is the costume of the tall elegant females, a sari draped round the lower body, and drawn up over the upper part and tied in a loop round the waist, although over the head in the Bijapur style, and just over the shoulders in the Ahmadnagar tradition. The ladies of the former wear their hair in a great bun on the back of the neck creating a bulge under the sari, in the southern fashion, but in the latter it hangs down behind in a pigtail in the northern manner. Male figures in both manuscripts in profile are sufficiently alike to need little comment. One difference between the two traditions is obvious. The Ahmadnagar manuscript, unquestionably of royal provenance, displays a style considerably removed from direct Iranian influence, with misunderstanding of conventions for horizons, architecture, awnings and so on, and with all the participants in profile; the whole approach of the Ms. is Indian, therefore, and the Iranian influence in the court studio would appear to have been filtered through earlier Mandu work. The Bijapur manuscript in contrast shows much more direct Iranian influence, in colouring, for example, with some figures in three-quarter profile, and it is this influence which becomes more dominant in the Bijapuri style in the 1591 *Pemnem* (No.52). Bijapur is lacking the sort of evidence we have for Golconda of direct Safavid influence at this period (see Nos.48–9), but there is apparently literary evidence that painting, probably in the Iranian manner, flourished at the court of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh I (1555–80).<sup>3</sup> All in all, the evidence, such as it is, points to Bijapur as the provenance for this Ms., and the dubious inscription may be accepted as reliable.

Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Indian MS.2.

ff.348; 25.8 × 16cm; polished paper, deep cream; 21 lines of *Nasta'liq* in panels 17 × 9.5cm, with margins ruled in gold; three *sarlavḥs* of great delicacy; 876 paintings, from 3.7 × 3cm to whole page; rebound in a 16th-century Persian binding.

Bibliography: CB 1936, pp.2–4. Binyon 1927. AIP, No.805, plates 140–1. Barrett 1958, pp.8–9 (col. repro. of f.248b). Barrett and Gray 1963, pp.117–21 (col. repro. f.191a).

<sup>1</sup>Barrett 1958, plate 1; Barrett and Gray 1963, pp.115–7.

<sup>2</sup>Barrett and Gray 1963, p.120. See Elliot and Dowson vol.IV, pp.103–4.

<sup>3</sup>Barrett 1958, p.4.

# 51 'Javāhir al-Mūsīqāt-i Muhammadi'

Illustrated on p.53.

A work in Persian on Indian music and the mystical experiences brought on by listening to music, by Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jaunpūri. There is a dedication on f.4a to Muhammad 'Adil Shāh of Bijapur (1626–56).

The work contains three sets of illustrations: eight representations of the *svaras*, or notes; 25 representations of *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs*; and 27 hand-gestures and body-postures, including all 24 of Bharata's *hastābhinaya*. On the reverse of many of the pictures is a description in Dakhni Urdu in Arabic characters.

This little manuscript presents numerous puzzles. Nothing is known of the author, of his origin in Jaunpur, or of his (presumed) life in Bijapur. The dedication to Sultan Muhammad 'Adil Shāh ill-accords with the character of the illustrations, which seem more to be in tune with Deccani work of c.1570. At least three hands are to be distinguished in the writing, but all clues to the make-up of the Ms. have disappeared in rebinding, and there are numerous lacunae.

The Ms. is built round two sets of paintings. All the illustrations of the *svaras*, *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs*, and the three body-postures are in an upright rectangular format without margin, with, on their reverse, a Dakhni inscription in a thin spidery hand akin to *Naskhī* which makes a point of separating all the letters, and sometimes the title of the subject depicted written on the painting itself. The 24 *hastābhinaya* on the other hand are virtually square in format and contained within a frame which continues upwards to include two lines of inscription in another hand, a thicker version of the first, which has also written two lines on the reverse. Both these hands are different from that of the main body of the Persian text, a rather scrawling, inelegant *Nasta'liq*. At some other time, yet another hand has inserted a folio, now f.4, in a cruder hand altogether, with a dedication to Sultan Muhammad 'Adil Shāh.

The pictures themselves are in a homogeneous style, of great simplicity and directness. Elongated figures, both male and female, are seen in strict profile against a monochrome ground, with no hint of landscape, but with the occasional tree or rock, and often under an arch. The men wear the long gown of the Deccan with cummerbund, the crossing fastened under both arms, and a small *pagrī*; the ladies are in bodice and sari, the latter draped round their shoulders and hanging in splendid folds, or in the case of the dancers demonstrating *hastābhinaya*, in bodice and *dhotī*, and wear their hair in a long braid, or again mostly for the dancers, tied up at the back of the neck and decorated with flowers. Their major items of jewellery are a heavy gold ring round the neck, and large circular ear-rings. All of these items of dress are to be found in early Deccani work associated with both courts of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, but with the bias in favour of the latter. It is difficult however, to fit them into the known examples of Bijapuri work, the 1570 *Nujūm al-'Ulūm* (No.50), primitive in drawing but sumptuous in a way this Ms. is not, or the 1591 *Pemnem* (No.52), and they may in fact be even earlier than the 1570 Ms. At some subsequent date, probably in Muhammad 'Adil Shāh's reign, they were collected together to have a text written round them by 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jaunpūri, and at a later date still, the entire Ms. was dedicated to Muhammad 'Adil Shāh. It is, of course, possible that they are primitive because they were late derivatives from courtly Bijapuri art, but this seems unlikely in view of there being no comparable examples from the early 17th century in this style. In their colour schemes they display the typical early Deccani colour clashes of pinks and greens and purples and yellows. British Library, London, Or.12857.

ff.214 (originally 281); 15.7 × 10cm; country paper; nine lines; one faded *sarlavḥ*; 48 miniatures, about 8.5 × 6.5cm, or 6 × 6cm; modern binding, on guards.

Bibliography: BM 1968, p.33; BL 1977, pp.1–2. Ebeling 1973, p.176, who unaccountably attributes the Ms. to Jaunpur 1626–56.

# 52 'Pemnem'

COLOUR PLATE XVII

The Toils of Love, a romance in Dakhni Urdu by Hasan Manjhū Khālji, who assumed the poetical name of Hamsa (the Indian sacred goose), composed in Bijapur in 999/1590–91. The romance is framed in the usual manner of such stories, the hero prince being eventually united with his beloved princess after considerable suffering. Nothing is known of the author other than what he reveals in

his introduction, in which he praises the city of Bijapur and its ruler Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II (1580–1626). This appears to be the sole Ms. of this work.

It is unquestionably the finest and most beautiful Ms. to survive from the early Deccani studios, but presents some problems. It is difficult to reconcile the style of about half of the 34 paintings with the date of 1591 which was claimed by Barrett, as they seem more typical in their dead, clumsy way of archaic Deccani painting of the mid-17th century. The finely drawn but dead *'unwān* is certainly untypical of the glittery Mss. associated with the Deccani courts, while the calligraphy is decidedly shaky. But Barrett's Hand A was worthy of being patronized by the king himself: his work gives the typical early Bijapuri richness of effect within a tightly disciplined framework, and is a development from within the school—it shows no evidence of contact with either Mughal or European influence, other than facial modelling which could in any case be a spontaneous development. The horizon is still the high Persian one, either rounded, or craggy, with castles perched on top in the Deccani fashion. He has no idea how to indicate spatial recession—on the two paintings showing significant events in the background (ff.75b and 197b), he simply lowers his craggy horizon and paints a procession of horses, elephants etc. outlined against the sky. At a slightly later date Mughal influence caused a significant opening out of the background, in the group of early 17th-century portraits for example. Among his most striking effects is his charming conceit of the heroine's portrait being stamped on the hero's heart.

Two other paintings (ff.89b and 138a) are given by Barrett to Hand A, but they seem untypical of his work. The faces of both males and females are much rounder than in Hand A, and the female body less attenuated; the ground is of gold strewn with flowering clumps, while the sky is plain blue streaked with clouds in white and red as opposed to A's double effect of gold below and blue with Chinese clouds above. They seem altogether more typical of Hand C, to whom we would also assign f.47a, which has the round face typical of his style, although on a dark green ground with gold sky. Hand C's other paintings are the wildest of all in his colour effects, his paint is smeared on thickly and he separates landscape and trees into component colours in the manner of the Impressionists. His f.70a is the most ambitious landscape in the Ms., with receding bands of colour built up to the horizon, but this is still the Safavid method of landscape building—the different colours do not indicate recession.

To turn from this body of work to that

of Hand B is something of a shock, as his work is coarser and more pedestrian, and would normally be placed in the 17th-century archaistic period. However its presence here indicates how careful we must be in condemning work as late. Like that of Hand A it is derived from the style of the *Nujūm al-'Ulūm*, and in its decorative grounds is considerably closer to it. We know nothing of 'popular Bijapuri' work of the 1590s which must have existed, and this artist may very well have been recruited from such a body of artists outside the court.

British Library, London, Add.16880.

Provenance: Book-plate of William Yule, 1805; presented by the sons of William Yule in 1847.

ff.239; 24.4 × 16cm; thin glazed paper, chain marks; eight or ten lines *Naskhī* in panels (17 × 9.5cm) ruled in gold and blue; 199 *dohas* in red, 1999 *caupais* in black ink; 34 paintings, by three hands; max. 17 × 12.5cm; *sarlavḥ*; modern binding.

Bibliography: BM 1899, pp.57–8. Barrett 1969.

## The Imperial Library of the Great Mogul

In 1526 a young prince from Central Asia, Bābur, a descendant of both Tīmūr and Genghis Khān, defeated and killed the Sultan of Delhi, Ibrāhīm Lodī, at the battle of Panipat, and established the rule of his dynasty, generally called the Mughals, in India until 1857. Not that he or his descendants would have tolerated being called Mughals or Mongols, which was a term of abuse applied by their enemies emphasising the barbaric side of their ancestry. They rather saw themselves as the heirs of Tīmūr, the conqueror of half of Asia, including Delhi, and whose immediate descendants were some of the greatest patrons of art and letters and sciences the world has known.

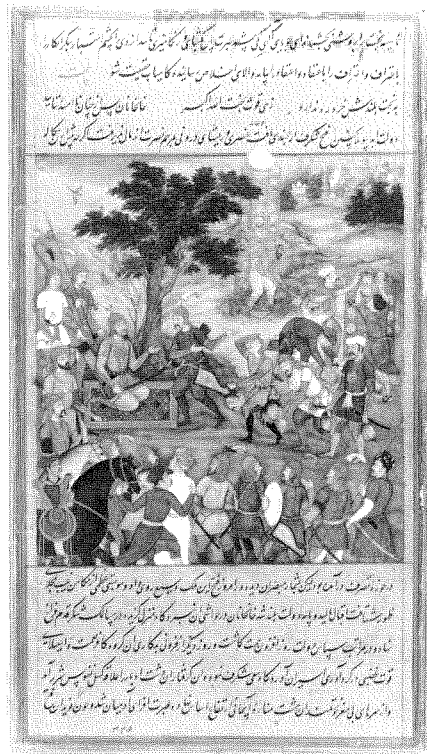
Bābur, who inherited the minor principedom of Ferghana, was three times the master of Tīmūr's fabled capital Samarkand, before finally being driven out by the Uzbeks. He resolved to try his luck in India, restoring Hindustan to Timurid rule. A poet, scholar and man of letters, he has left us a *Dīvān* of poems in his native Turki, of which a manuscript exists with his own annotations on it, written in Agra in 1528-9 (in the Rampur State Library) and an autobiography, one of the greatest works of the genre in any language. He records in detail not only the events of his life but also his reactions above all to India, its people, its climate, its animal and plant life. This work translated into Persian was one of the most popular for illustration in the reign of his grandson Akbar. His reign was too brief to do more than establish his rule over the Lodī dominions of Delhi, the Panjab and the Jaunpur kingdom, from the Lodī capital at Agra. The only one of his manuscripts known to survive from his reign is his *Dīvān*, so it is impossible to know to what extent he patronized scribes and illuminators. That he was a collector of rare manuscripts is known for certain, for one of his and his descendants' most precious possessions was an illuminated *Shāhnāma* produced for Muhammad Jūqī in Herat about 1440, which passed with Bābur from Samarkand over the perilous mountains into India and which bears the seals of all his descendants up to Aurangzīb as well as the autograph inscriptions of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. Bābur's brother Kāmrān also patronized the production of manuscripts—a solitary volume of Jāmī's *Yūsuf va Zulaykhā* survives commissioned by him probably in Kabul, with six miniatures in a poor version of the Bokhara style. There is no evidence that Bābur himself patronized painters, but with his turbulent life he would scarcely have been able to offer them the settled conditions necessary for the production of first-class work, especially since the court at Tabriz under Shāh Ismā'īl and his son Shāh Tahmāsp was attracting all the available talent from Iran and Central Asia.

Bābur's son Humāyūn was a much less forceful character who found himself unable to defend himself against the attacks of rival Muslim dynasties in India, and in 1540 he was driven from his throne by Shīr Shāh Sūr, an Afghan from Bihar. Humāyūn was devoted to books, and seems at times to have been more concerned with the loss of his library than of his kingdom. At a later period when he was struggling to regain the throne of Hindustan, his delight in regaining his temporarily mislaid portmanteau of books is recorded in his son's biography, the *Akbarnāma* (Nos. 70-1). These must have contained his father's books as well as his

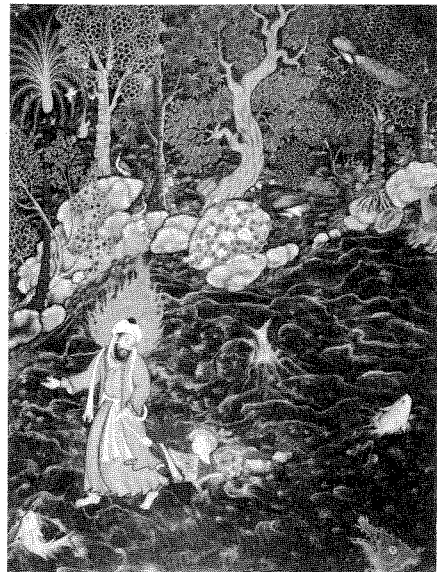
own, the library no doubt having been considerably enriched by his sojourn in Iran and Kabul. It was at Shāh Tahmāsp's court at Tabriz in 1544 that he was first exposed to the full panoply of the Iranian bibliographic tradition, where he doubtless saw the recently completed *Shāhnāma* and *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī, the greatest masterpieces of Safavid manuscript production. Shāh Tahmāsp was becoming more orthodox as he grew older, and turned away from painting after 1544. His artists sought patrons elsewhere, and some responded to Humāyūn's invitation to join him in Kabul, which he had been able to regain in 1545. Two painters in particular took up his invitation, Mīr Sayyid 'Alī, whose signed work is found in Shāh Tahmāsp's Nizāmī of 1539-43, and 'Abd as-Samad, to whom work has been attributed in the *Shāhnāma* but about whose Iranian work much less is known. They and their fellow artists brought with them to Humāyūn's court, and then on to Delhi when he was able to regain his Indian dominions in 1555, the latest developments in the Iranian book tradition: elaborate and highly finished paintings by master artists; fine calligraphy; illumination in *shamsas*, *unwāns*, *sarlavḥs* and other pieces scattered throughout the text, in profusion; sumptuously illuminated margins painted in gold with individual designs; bindings now sometimes painted and lacquered rather than simply in tooled and painted leather; and a burgeoning interest in portraiture and the assemblage of albums. The earliest work identifiable as being by these Safavid artists for Humāyūn is still in the pure Persian manner. This includes the fragmentary so-called *Princes of the House of Tīmūr*, a large painting on cloth originally intended probably as a record of Humāyūn and his court in Kabul. Humāyūn's return to Delhi was followed within a year by his death, through falling down the steep steps of his library, an octagonal, two-storeyed building still intact in the Purāna Qila (Old Fort) of Delhi, built by his rival Shīr Shāh Sūr. It was not until his son Akbar began to reorganize the royal studio and to impose on it his own standards and tastes that any movement away from the Safavid style becomes apparent.

Akbar was born in 1542 in the deserts of Sind when Humāyūn had been ousted from his throne, and while his father was in Tabriz, was already learning the hard art of survival in the house of his treacherous uncle Kāmrān Mirza in Kabul. Only 14 when he inherited the throne he was able quickly to crush all rebellions and to extend his dominions over all the independent kingdoms of northern and central India. A man of intense energy, he was intellectually interested in all that came his way, especially the religions of the majority of his subjects, Hinduism and Jainism, in Zoroastrianism, and in the Christianity which was conveyed to him through the Jesuits of Goa, who sent several missions to the imperial court, bringing with them European paintings and prints.

In 1556, the artistic state of India was a confused one. We have analysed above the various kinds of manuscript illustration practised in India in the first half of the 16th century—the schools of the Sultanate courts, attested from Bengal, Mandu and Golconda, but doubtless existing in other courts also, utilizing styles derived from metropolitan Iranian styles at greater or lesser remove; a much more Indianized school of Sultanate painting exemplified by the *Candāyana* manuscripts, possibly from Mandu; a Hindu school exemplified by the *Caura-paṇcāsika* group of manuscripts illustrating Sanskrit and Hindi texts, based at the Rajput courts; bourgeois schools derived from all three of



71 f.212b. Mun'in Khān has towers built of the heads of the vanquished Afghans of Bengal in 1575. By Manohar (No. 71, p. 93).



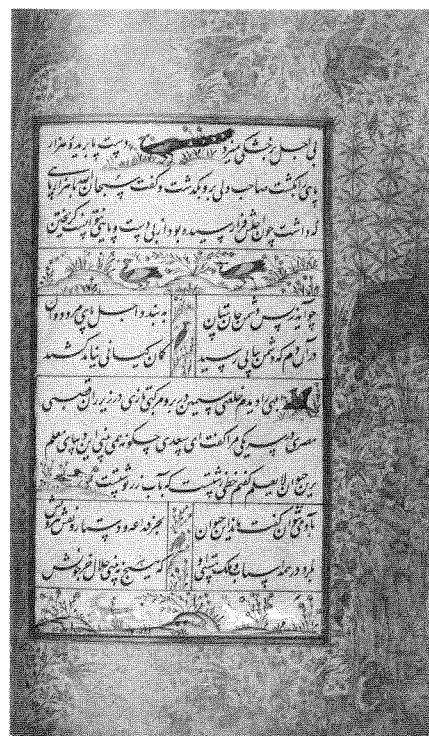
54 The prophet Elias rescuing Nūr ad-Dahr from the sea (No.54, p.85).

the above certainly practising in the Delhi–Agra area and probably elsewhere; Jaina painting, still practised in its strongholds in Gujarat and Rajasthan; and local schools in eastern and southern India about which little is as yet known. Shortly after his accession, Akbar decided on an immense expansion of the studio and turned mostly to the artists and workmen who were available, *i.e.* artists from all the above schools who flocked to Agra, the capital, from all over India. The evidence for this migration lies in the first known complete manuscript from Akbar's studio, the *Tūṭīnāma* (Tales of a Parrot) in the Cleveland Museum, in which examples of most of these styles are to be found. It is unlikely that the energetic Akbar would have allowed his Persian artists to sit about idle for years after his accession, so that the expansion of the studio can be dated to the late 1550s, as can the beginning of the *Tūṭīnāma*. It is to be regarded as a testing ground for different artists perhaps; but as its styles are all somewhat later than their parent styles, yet clearly cannot be regarded as being under much influence from the two Persian masters, it does in a way serve as a *terminus ante quem* for all of them. Much of it must have been finished before work began on Akbar's first huge and immensely important undertaking, the illustration of the *Ḥamzanāma*, a romance of the adventures of Hamza the Prophet's uncle (No.54), which probably commenced about 1562. The sources differ about the precise size of the undertaking, but it would seem to have been in 14 volumes each consisting of 100 paintings, and took 15 years to complete, so that it was finished by 1577. It was painted direct on to large sheets of cotton; originally five lines of text were written on the same side as the painting, leaving the verso blank, but the later paintings cover the entire surface, with the text written in large *Nasta'liq* on paper and mounted on the back of the cotton. The 100 leaves of each volume were then presumably bound up like album leaves, but no trace of their bindings has survived. Although scarcely more than 100 leaves have survived out of the whole gigantic enterprise, various stages in the development of the Mughal style can be distinguished. The decorative pattern-making of Iranian painting changes to a concern for naturalism, painting reality in depth, more realistic portraiture, all features that characterize the great period of Mughal painting under Akbar and Jahāngīr, even though the technical methods of achieving these ends, of modelling, of shading, of landscape recession, which were learnt from European paintings and prints over the last two decades of the century, had not yet been fully worked out. Apart from a few highly Persianized early paintings, which were doubtless drawn by the Persian masters, the rest of the pages are in a remarkably uniform style, immensely vigorous, very un-Persian that must have been hammered out in vigorous artistic discussion between the Persians and their erstwhile Indian pupils. The mid-1560s is the latest date this style can have been arrived at, as it appears in a manuscript dated 1568 (No.56).

The creation of the *Ḥamzanāma* demanded a huge expansion of the imperial studio from the few Iranian artists brought by Humāyūn from Kabul to many hundreds of artists and calligraphers, as well as the other craftsmen necessary for the production of books. Most of these artists could only come from the other regions of India; we know the origins of some of them from their names—the epithets Gujarati, Kashmiri, Lahori. About 70 per cent of the names we know of are Hindus, but it is not possible to sort out where they came from other than through their



58 f.128. The scribe Muhammad Husayn Kashmiri 'Golden-pen' and the painter Manohar. By Manohar (No.58, p.87).



58 f.66b. A peacock and other creatures decorating the text. By Manohar (?) (No.58, p.87).

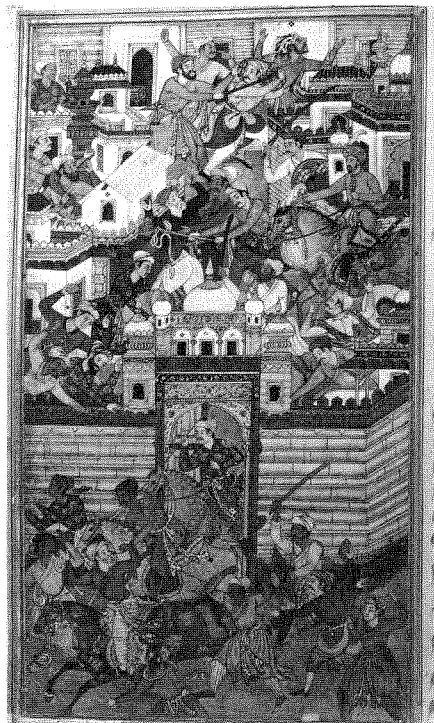
signed later work – Nānhā for instance is almost certainly an artist from the Deccan, and probably his nephew Bishndās also, while Mādhū Khurd (the Younger) may be pinpointed to Ahmadnagar, one of the three Deccani schools. A manuscript dated 1567 painted by Shahm (No.55) is in an entirely Bokharan style, while in the mid-1580s at least two artists arrived from Iran, Āqā Rizā and Farrukh Beg, bringing with them a renewed burst of Safavid influence especially favoured by Prince Salīm, Akbar's heir.

Mīr Sayyid 'Alī was in charge of the studio for about half the production of the *Ḥamzanāma*. The method of work at first would have been for him to draw the picture and for the other artists to paint in the colours, until they had gained confidence in this new style. Both Akbar and Jahāngīr pay tribute at a later date to their artists' ability to copy anything, even the latest European work, so that no one could tell the difference. This is indeed a facility all Indian artists have and it was remarked on by the British in the late 18th century. It would not have been difficult for Indian artists to copy the Safavid style in the 1560s, so that they could produce paintings in it by themselves after initial training. Under Akbar's guidance, if not technical direction, the artists were trained to develop a style capable of illustrating in a realistic, naturalistic manner the great historical works of which he was so fond and which occupied his studio through most of the 1580s.

Few illustrated manuscripts other than the *Ḥamzanāma* were produced in the early period of the studio's work. A group of three manuscripts (Nos.55–7) dated between 1567 and 1570 occupy the middle of the *Ḥamzanāma* period, along with the undated Zodiacal album in Rampur. This paucity must be due to the overwhelming priority of the production of the *Ḥamzanāma* which claimed the entire studio's attention. We know that six months was the average for the production of one of the highly finished but much smaller paintings of the later Akbar-period works, so that at least a year must be allotted to each of the *Ḥamzanāma* pages. For 1,400 paintings taking 15 years to complete, about 100 artists must have been employed on it. In the earlier period of course, progress must have been much slower, as the atelier was in process of being built up.

Abu'l Fazl, Akbar's court-historian, in his *Ā'in-i Akbarī* (The Institutes of Akbar) gives a short but valuable account of the *taṣvīr-khāna*, the imperial studio. In *Ā'in* 34 he deals with the twin arts of calligraphy and painting, according in pious traditional fashion the primacy to the first, but as Pramod Chandra has pointed out actually giving primacy through his title to the painters. Among the calligraphers of Akbar's court, he praises above all Muhammad Husayn al-Kashmīrī, whom Akbar honoured with the title *Zarīn Qalam* (Golden-pen). His calligraphy may be seen in manuscripts datable between 1581 and 1604 (Nos.58, 64, 70, 71) and his portrait exists in the first of these. He died in 1611. Other calligraphers whom he singles out as being among the 'renowned calligraphists of the present age' include three others whose works have survived – Maulānā Daurī, whom Blochmann identifies as the poetic name of Sultān Bāyazīd, the scribe of the 1568 manuscript of Amīr Khusraw (No.56); 'Abd ar-Rahīm, given the title *Ambarīn Qalam* (Amber-pen) by the Emperor, the scribe of the Dyson-Perrins Nizāmī of 1595 and the *Nafahāt al-Uns* of 1604 (Nos.65, 69), and whose portrait is in the former; and Mīr 'Abdallāh, surnamed *Muskīn Qalam* (Musky-



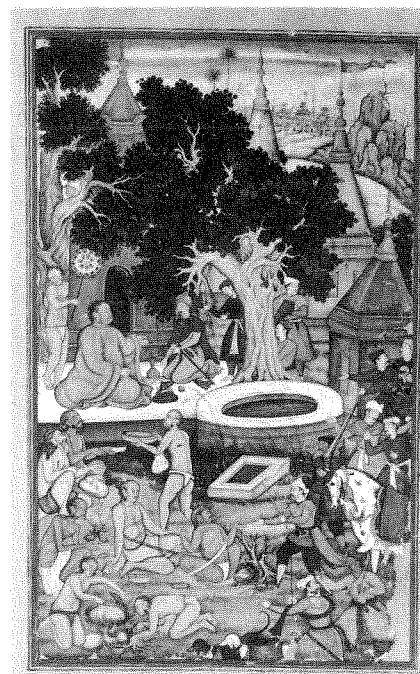


62 f.84. The attack on Aush in 1498. By Shīvdās (?) (No.62, p.89).

pen), a scribe in Sultān Salīm's entourage in Allahabad, and presumably earlier, who copied a *Divān* of Amīr Hasan Dihlavī in 1602 (No.72), and whose portrait we also possess at the end of this manuscript.

Abu'l Fazl goes on to discuss the imperial library and the Emperor's favourite books. Books were kept either within the harem or without, the former presumably being the most costly and treasured items, and each section carefully organized as to language and subject. Akbar was apparently illiterate, one of the most surprising things about one so brilliant and fond of books and philosophical enquiry, and enjoyed having his books read out to him in assembly every day, rewarding the readers with so much per page. Abu'l Fazl lists the favourite works which the Emperor never tired of hearing, including works on ethics and morality such as Nāsir ad-Dīn 'Tūsī's *Akhḡlāq-i Nāsiri* (of which an illustrated Akbar-period manuscript was discovered recently); the Persian classics; and works on history. Learned men were constantly translating from other languages into Persian. The memoirs of Akbar's grandfather Bābur were translated from Turki into Persian so as to be more readily understood by the courtiers (Nos.62–3), while a considerable number of Indian works in Sanskrit and Hindi were also translated – *Mahābhārata* (No.88), *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Harivaṃśa*, *Yogavāsīṣṭha* (No.68), the *Atharvaveda*, *Līlāvati* (the mathematical work of Bhāskara) and various romances and tales. Akbar valued literature as a means of breaking down barriers between the men of different religions of his empire, for he considered prejudice was based on ignorance and incomprehension. He ordered copies of many of these works to be distributed to his courtiers.

As for painting, Abu'l Fazl tells us that Akbar was interested in this from his early youth both for study and entertainment. Jahāngīr in his Memoirs adds that Akbar was trained to paint by 'Abd as-Samad. Each week the work done by every artist was set before him for his consideration, and rewards were given to the artist according to the excellence of the work. Much store was set by the quality of the materials, which the Emperor took pains to improve. Writing in the 1590s, Abu'l Fazl considered that the artists assembled at the court, of whom more than 100 were adjudged masters, were a match for Bihzād and for the Europeans. He singles out for special praise the two Safavid masters, Mīr Sayyid 'Alī and 'Abd as-Samad, although the former had left for Mecca in 1571–2, half way through the *Hamzanāma* project, stating that the work of both had been transformed by the Emperor's criticism. This is not idle flattery, but an honest appreciation that it was Akbar himself who had acted as the catalyst transmuting Safavid painting into Mughal. It is clear that Abu'l Fazl accords both Iranian masters, especially the former, the formal praise due to them as heads of the studio, but despite work being known from 'Abd as-Samad's brush up to 1595 (No.65), he seems to have been moved into administrative posts from 1577. Akbar must have found his very Iranian style lacking in the qualities he valued most. Abu'l Fazl reserves his enthusiasm for two Hindu artists, Dashvant and especially Basāvan, both of whose attributed work is from the beginning in the style Akbar wanted his artists to achieve. He names another 13 artists as also famous masters, all but two of whom are Hindus. All of them, as well as 100 more artists, are known from the contemporary inscriptions on the margins of the manuscripts containing their work. When their paintings were presented to the Emperor every week, there



63 f.22b. Bābur visits the Hindu ascetics at Gura Kattri in 1519 (No.63, p.90).

were notes on the edges ascribing the work, and artists were paid and given handsome presents according to the reception which their work received; the notes were later usually covered up by the gilded margins. A more formal note was made on the outer margins by the court librarians, after the painting had taken its place in the manuscript. The practice of the artist actually signing the work found occasionally in the earlier period, as with Shāhm in the 1567 *Gulistān* (No.55), was not favoured until under Jahāngīr, perhaps because few of the Akbari artists were competent pen-men. The ascription to artists by librarians' notes is attested from the Cleveland Museum *Tūṭīnāma* onwards, where occur the earliest attributions to Dashvant and Basāvan who must have been among the earliest artists to be recruited. Artists' sons seem to have followed in their father's footsteps – of three of Jahāngīr's master artists, Manohar, Abu'l Hasan and Bishndās, the first two were the sons of Basāvan and Āqā Rizā, and the last the nephew of Nānhā. The two sons of 'Abd as-Samad, Muhammad Sharīf and Bihzād, were both painters, whose work is found in manuscripts of the 1580s. The former was Prince Salīm's friend from childhood, and in his reign he made him one of the grandees of the empire.

Several artists must have worked on each of the *Hamzanāma* paintings, but as all the surviving pages have been remargined, there are no attributions. At the conclusion of the project in 1577 (?), there was a large number of highly trained artists waiting for employment, and it was at this stage that they began work on a series of historical works that lasted throughout the next decade – the stories of Akbar's ancestors from Tīmūr (*Ta'rikh-i Khāndān-i Tīmūriyya*, in Bankipore), of his grandfather Bābur (Nos.62–3), and of his father's and his own reign, the *Akbarnāma* (Nos.70–1). At the same time, the Emperor commissioned Persian translations of the two great Hindu epics in Sanskrit, *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, and his artists worked on illustrated versions of them alongside the historical works. These manuscripts are on the grandest scale, with an average of 150 full-page paintings each. The scale of Akbar's studio can be appreciated by comparison with an Iranian one. No ruler of Iran before the unification of the country under Shāh Tahmāsp had the resources to include more than 30 or 40 large-scale paintings even in such a huge work as the *Shāhnāma*. Even Shāh Tahmāsp could only produce one lavishly illustrated manuscript in his long reign, whereas Akbar was having five done in a single decade. Of course the style was less highly finished and exquisite than Iranian work, and is at times only too obviously produced as in a production line, but the magnitude of the achievement is undeniable.

Akbar's artists were extending the techniques of manuscript painting at the same time as extending its range. In earlier manuscripts, whether Iranian or Sultanate, it was only occasionally that the margins were utilized, although examples date from the 14th century. Finials, trees or pavilions could project above the top margin, horses' hooves or landscape details could extend over the side margin, giving the effect of bursting out of the frame but not confined within another one. In the great Mughal manuscripts of the 1580s, however, the entire page is invariably utilized for the painting, the outer marginal rulings being nearly at the page's ends. This enlargement of the painted area to a size hitherto unknown for paper manuscripts creates a grandiose effect altogether fitting for these



works. We can see the beginning of this process in the *Anvār-i Suhaylī* of 1570 (No.57).

The paintings in these manuscripts were usually produced by two or three artists, a master artist drawing the outlines and a lesser one applying the colour. The master would then finish it off. Occasionally a third artist who specialized in portraiture would do the faces. The names of those who drew the outlines are usually among the 17 master artists named by Abu'l Fazl.

In 1575 Akbar sent a mission to Goa specially to learn from the Portuguese, and to bring back paintings and prints for his artists to learn from and to copy. Techniques such as modelling and perspective were learnt in this way and included in the 1580s manuscripts.

Most of the historical works still tend to include large panels of text inside the painting, as the artists were still unsure of their recession techniques. Such panels hid awkward junctions very effectively. In the *Akbarnāma*, however, of c.1590, the text is usually reduced to a line or two, so that the double-page compositions in which this manuscript abounds are almost released from the subservience to the text appropriate for manuscript illustration. But this is not a simple matter of the earlier manuscripts having more text and the later less, as technical mastery in landscape and recession was attained throughout the studio. The *Ta'rikh-i Alfī* of 1593, an historical work later than the *Akbarnāma*, has such large text panels proportionate to the paintings as to give the latter more the function of marginal illustrations. The same applies to as late a manuscript as the non-imperial *Razmnāma* of 1616. The biographical work of Jāmī, *Nafahāt al-Uns*, of 1605 (No.69), is treated in much the same way as the 1580s manuscripts, while the intervening poetical manuscripts tend to follow the examples of the *Akbarnāma*. The reasons may perhaps be sought in the nature of the texts themselves. Familiar texts such as the Persian poetic classics, or the events of recent history would scarcely have needed the text for the story of the illustration to be recognizable. Not so in more obscure historical periods, such as the 14th-century history of Tīmūr and above all in the early history of Islam in the *Ta'rikh-i Alfī* and in the translations from Sanskrit. The arrangement of texts, the layout on the page, the choice of subjects for illustration – all these were planned in advance by the head of the studio doubtless including consultation with the Emperor himself. The colophon of the imperial *Razmnāma* tells us that the manuscript was organized by Sharīf, the son of 'Abd as-Samad.

While these great co-operative projects were progressing, artists had an opportunity to produce individual paintings in smaller manuscripts. No dated work of this type has been found between the 1570 *Anvār-i Suhaylī* and the 1581 *Gulistān*, but the album of zodiacal and tilasm paintings in Rampur and the mutilated *Anvār-i Suhaylī* fragments in Bombay must have been done between these two dates, while the *Tuḥfāt-nāma* in the Chester Beatty Library (No.60) and the *Dārābnāma* (No.59) belong to the end of this period. In these manuscripts it is clear that paintings were usually the responsibility of a single artist, and the result is considerable unevenness in the quality of the work. In the *Dārābnāma*, for example, a masterpiece by Basāvan jostles with some of the most garish and crude of all Akbar-period paintings. There has been speculation that this might reflect the change of capital from Fathpur Sikri to Lahore in 1585, when possibly new recruits were added to the

studio from the locality, the epithet 'Lahori' being added to two names in the ascriptions on the *Dārābnāma*. There is good reason however to suppose that the *Dārābnāma* was begun before the move to Lahore, as the work of certain artists in it seems to predate work in the historical manuscripts. Nānhā for example is exposed as a Deccani artist of promise in the *Dārābnāma*, whereas in the manuscript of the history of Tīmūr, which appears to have been begun in the late 1570s on the evidence of its early pages, he contributes a double-page scene of great power and originality in the developed historical style. It is probable however that work was continued on all these undated manuscripts of the 1580s for a very long time indeed, perhaps for over a decade in the case of the Tīmūr manuscript in Bankipore.

Two poetical manuscripts have survived from the imperial studios of the 1580s, a *Dīvān* of Anvarī dated 1588 at Lahore, and an undated *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī (No.61) now in the Keir Collection attributable to 1585–90 on grounds of style as well as the two-artist system of production. This latter system was apparently found unnecessary for the smaller-scale miniatures of the manuscripts of poetical and other literary works, and for the superb-quality manuscripts produced during the 1590s the system was abandoned. Instead, each miniature is the responsibility of one master, and finished to the highest degree. Such manuscripts are of thick, creamy paper, highly burnished, and contain illuminations of superb quality, in which Mughal illuminators or *naqqāsh* are seen to have finally diverged from their Iranian counterparts, through a heavier use of reds, oranges and other strong colours, an extreme fondness for floral arabesque, and in more daring shapes to their 'unwāns and *sarlavḥs*. In the finest manuscripts as in the Nizāmī and *Bahāristān* of 1595 and the Amīr Khusraw of 1597 (Nos.64–6), all the margins are painted with landscape, figural and floral designs in gold. This kind of treatment is borrowed from Iran, where it reached perfection in Shāh Tahmāsp's Nizāmī of 1539–43, but quickly degenerated in both Iran and India into stereotyped designs applied using stencils. In manuscripts of high quality, however, all the margins are individually painted, although the themes tend to be repetitive and stock favourites – lions or tigers chasing or mauling deer is one of the most frequent. This type of work appears to have been done by artists at the beginning of their careers – two of Jahāngīr's great artists, Mansūr and Bālchand, worked on the illuminations and margins of Nos.64, 66 and 70. Finally the manuscript was bound in a luxurious cover – very few Mughal covers have survived, two of the finest being on the 1595 Nizāmī and the 1597 Amīr Khusraw, both painted and lacquered (Nos.65–6). There is no known leather binding which can safely be attributed to the period of Akbar, though one or two are known which may be Jahāngīri.

During the 1590s historical texts were not neglected. Akbar commissioned, in order to mark the one-thousandth anniversary of the *Hijra* a history of the past 1,000 years called the *Ta'rikh-i Alfī* which was presented to him in 1593, a millennium (*alf*) after the flight of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina, the base of the Muslim calendar. This work is now dispersed and only fragments of it are known. The *Chingīznāma* (History of Genghis Khān) from Rashīd ad-Dīn's history *Jāmī at-Tavārīkh*, now mostly in the Gulshan Palace, Tehran, was illustrated in 1597. After receiving the initial manuscript copy of 'Abd ar-Rahīm's translation of Bābur's memoirs in 1589, Akbar ordered other

copies to be made and distributed so that the work would be better known. Three other full-scale illustrated versions from the royal studio are known from between 1590 and 97 (Nos.62–3). Abu'l Fazl's *Akbarnāma* originally presented to the Emperor in 1590, was continued by the author up to his murder in 1601 by the partisans of Prince Salīm, and it may have been as a tribute to his dead friend that Akbar ordered another illustrated copy to be prepared. This, now divided between the British Library and the Chester Beatty Library (Nos.70–1), is incomplete, and bears only a date on one of the pictures equivalent to 1604. Work on it may have stopped on Akbar's death in the following year. Unlike the others in this group of historical manuscripts, the *Akbarnāma*'s paintings are mostly by two artists, a system apparently considered unnecessary for the others.

All the manuscripts of the 1590s are in the fully mature, eclectic Mughal style, in which all its elements, Iranian, Indian and European are now fully assimilated into a balanced, harmonious whole. In the manuscripts after 1600, however, is found a change of direction with a cooler palette in transparent blues and greens, while many paintings are in '*nīmqalam*' which are really drawings with washes of brown and highlighting in colours and gold. Perhaps it was the influence of European drawings and prints brought by the Jesuits and other visitors to Akbar, or drawings in the Persian manner from Isfahan, which set Mughal artists off along this path, in reaction against the richly coloured palette favoured hitherto.

In 1598 Akbar left Lahore, which had been the capital for 14 years, and returned to Agra, of course bringing the studio with him. The following year Salīm the heir to the throne left court without permission and took his studio with him to Allahabad where he remained until 1604. Salīm, who took the throne name Jahāngīr (World-Conqueror) on his accession in 1605, tells us in his Memoirs how great a connoisseur he was. He had an enquiring mind, which delighted in observation, and had his painters record things which pleased or intrigued him – animals, birds, flowers, curious happenings and so on. He tells us that the Iranian painter Āqā Rizā was in his employ from his entry into India some time before 1584, as was his son Abu'l Hasan born in the palace in that year. He strongly favoured the elegant, facile art of Iran at this time, perhaps in youthful, filial antagonism to his father's ideals in art. It is not known how many artists were in his studio, since of the three manuscripts known to have been produced at Allahabad for him (Nos.72, 74–5), only one (*Anvār-i Suhaylī*) has attributions to artists. Āqā Rizā and his son Abu'l Hasan were both with him, since the *Anvār-i Suhaylī* contains work by the former dated 1604 and dedicated to Shāh Salīm, the title he took in rebellion. Ghulām, another Iranian painter, is to be numbered among the Allahabad group on the basis of an inscription on a painting mentioning Shāh Salīm, and also Bishndās, whose work unmistakably appears in the *Rāj Kanvār* of 1603–4. Work on the *Anvār-i Suhaylī* was continued until 1610, so that it is impossible to determine which of the other painters did their work at Allahabad and which were present in the imperial studio at Agra when Jahāngīr took possession in 1605. Work done in Allahabad and in Akbar's studio at Agra after the return from Lahore in 1598 share very similar ideals, so that it is not possible to attribute to Salīm's taste alone the changes from the style at Lahore. Akbar in his last years shared Salīm's taste for portraiture and both of them were compiling albums at

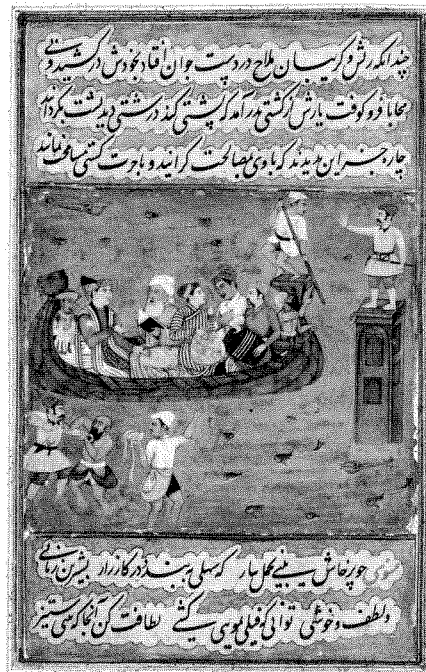
this time. Abu'l Fazl tells us that Akbar had the likenesses taken of all his chief nobles and the portraits bound up in albums. Only a few of these portraits appear to have survived. However some of Salīm's albums have survived intact – the Gulshan Album in the ex-imperial library in Tehran and another album in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (No.78).

The practice of collecting pictures and specimens of calligraphy into albums or *muraqqa'* was already long established among Muslim bibliophiles by the end of the 16th century – Shāh Tahmāsp for example had a famous collection, now in the Topkapi Saray Museum in Istanbul. *Muraqqa'* were more than scrapbooks; they could exhibit a patron's taste to the most exquisite degree, far more so than a manuscript, since the subject of individual paintings was directly under his own control. It was usual to alternate facing pages of paintings with pages of calligraphy, apposite verses written by famous calligraphers especially for such collections, and illuminated with floral designs and arabesques. The paintings and calligraphic specimens were pasted on to thin card made up of many layers of paper, the margins decorated through the addition of arabesques, floral paintings, designs in gold or any number of other decorations. The finished mounts were then bound up into an album with leather or lacquered covers.

Jahāngīr's albums are at once the earliest and greatest Indian *muraqqa'* to have survived. Some of the earliest of all Mughal paintings are in the Gulshan Album, but it is unlikely that Salīm began putting his albums together much before 1599. Signed work in the Tehran volume is dated between 1599 and 1609, and in the Berlin volume between 1608 and 1618. The paintings of the Mughal school in the volumes are mostly portraits or genre scenes, animals and flowers, along with Persian and Deccani paintings, and European prints or Mughal versions of them. They are most remarkable however for the exquisite paintings in the margins. We have seen above at the imperial studio in Lahore how at least three of the luxurious manuscripts of the 1590s had their margins all decorated with paintings in gold. In all three there occur little vignettes of figures or animals in part or full colour, standing out from among the gold. Miraculously, the attributions of these little vignettes in the *Bahāristān* (No.64) have been preserved from the binder's knife – Khīm, Shīvdās and Bālchand, the last named at the beginning of a glittering career under the Emperors Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. In the albums this concept is expanded so that fully-coloured or half-coloured portraits, of ascetics, courtiers, artists, Christian saints, float in front of the shimmering gold background. It is the Jahāngīri albums which develop this technique to the highest pitch of expressiveness, so that it is inextricably linked with his taste, but the same phenomenon also occurs in the first two pages of the 1604 *Akbarnāma* (No.70). Other great albums also are known from the first half of the 17th century associated with the other Mughal emperors and princes in which the marvellous freedom of the Jahāngīri border paintings can be seen slowly petrifying into stereotyped portrait figures or floral designs.

To artists so dependent on patronage, the change of ruler in 1605 brought great changes to their lives. Jahāngīr had no interest in the mass production of heavily illustrated manuscripts of inevitably uneven quality; for him perfection was what was required, which could necessarily only be achieved by the few. He was not particularly interested either in the idea of illustrating manuscripts, since his freedom



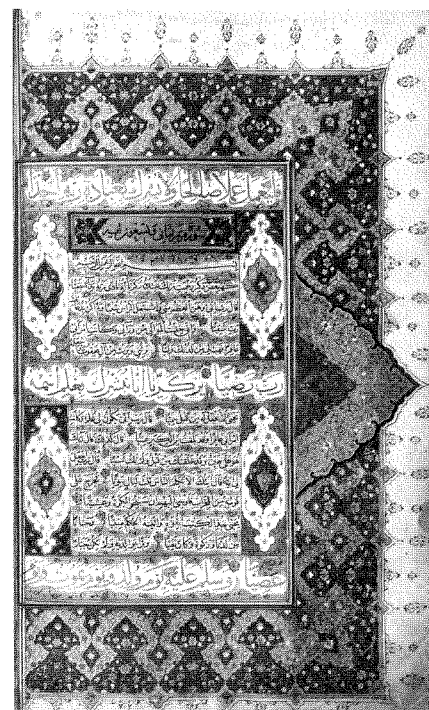


80 f.72. The ferryman abandons the objectionable young man in the middle of the river (No.80, p.98).

as a patron would necessarily be limited by another's choice, that of the author. His greatest artists—Abu'l Hasan, Mansūr, Govardhan, Bishndās, Bālchand, Bichitr etc.—had so perfected their technique towards the realism he expected, that they could perfectly implement his wishes. By commissioning individual paintings, whether of portraits, of animal and floral studies, of scenes from his life to illustrate his Memoirs, he was able to exercise complete freedom of patronage and show his individual taste for the rendition of the real world, echoing Prince Daniyal's earlier cry to poets to write of the world they knew in India, not the fanciful one of Iran (No.81). Thus, overwhelmed by the beauty of the spring-flowers of Kashmir, he ordered Mansūr to prepare an album full of them, or to take likenesses of rare creatures, such as a zebra and a turkey, which were presented to him. At the beginning of his reign however he still had some manuscript illustrations prepared—work on the *Anvār-i Suhaylī* seems to have continued until 1610, while a *Būstān*, *Gulistān* and *Kulliyat* of Sa'dī appear to have been commissioned about 1605. He also indulged in the age-old habit among Muslim patrons of tinkering with earlier manuscripts. Thus the artist Daulat added a self-portrait to the colophon-page of the 1595 *Nizāmī* (No.65), and seven unsigned paintings were added to the 1567 *Gulistān* (No.55). Govardhan, Nānhā, and Manohar added superb paintings to a *Khamṣa* of the Turki poet Navā'ī, now in Windsor Castle (No.77), and nine paintings were added to a minute *Divān* of Hāfiz (No.76). Other Iranian manuscripts were subjected to a partial process of repainting, replacing the Mongoloid features of the Persian style with realistic Mughal ones, creating a very strange amalgam. Jahāngīr seems also to have started the habit among the Mughal emperors of inscribing manuscripts which he had just had brought to him from the library, and dating them. The dates occur throughout his reign; his successor Shāh Jahān contented himself with recording that they came into his possession on his accession in 1627.

Throughout the last decade of the 16th century and the first of the next, the two concepts of book-illustration which we have termed Iranian and Indian, had been battling in the Mughal studio for supremacy, and Jahāngīr's accession finally marked the victory of the Indian method. In most manuscripts of the 1590s, the lines of text allowed to intrude across a painting are very few, and in the c.1604 *Akbarnāma* these disappear entirely. Although text is found at top and bottom of paintings from this time on, the painting itself was released from subservience to the text, and its composition allowed to follow its own logic. It is in his reign too that the invariable Indian method of painting people in full profile triumphs in the Mughal school also.

Some of Jahāngīr's early manuscripts revert to the 14th-century manner of illustrating the text with horizontal paintings across the middle of the page, and this is continued by two of Shāh Jahān's (r.1627–58) earliest manuscripts commissioned in Agra in 1629–30, one of which he sent as a present to King Charles I (No.80). Shāh Jahān was far less interested than his father in painting, but appears to have maintained his father's academy. Numerous paintings from his reign are signed with the same names as occur on Jahāngīri paintings. His major productions include a few magnificent albums and an illustrated history of his reign (the *Pādshāhnāma*, now in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle, No.82) in which the Mughal style is displayed at its most



53 f.119b. The opening of *Sūrat Maryam* (Chapter of Mary).

### 53 'Qur'ān'

The Holy Koran, unascribed in the text.

A note on f.246b in Persian states that the work was copied by Hibat Allāh al-Husaynī for the use of the Sultan, Lahore, 981/1573–4. There seems no reason to doubt this ascription, as the Ms. is unquestionably a product of the second half of the 16th century, and in quality good enough for a royal provenance. The Sultan of Lahore in 1573 was of course the Emperor Akbar.

The text is enclosed within gilded and coloured margins, and is written in different scripts, the first, middle and last of the 17 lines being in large *Muḥaqqaq*, alternately gold and blue, on a white ground, the intermediate shorter lines in a fine smaller *Naskhī* contained between illuminated upright panels. The *sūrah* headings are usually in gold in *Ruqā'* script on blue, with polychrome illumination, and the *bismillah* on a gold ground underneath. There are two double-pages of *unwāns*, the first being a composite. The central two pages of illumination (ff.118b–119a) are around the beginning of the *Sūrat Maryam*. Other points worthy of note are that three of the folios (ff.2b, 3a and 246a) have margins decorated in peony arabesques in gold, and that the recto of every folio immediately above the text contains the impression of a small pear-shaped seal, all obliterated. It is the fondness for certain colours—pinks, orange, greens—which first distinguishes Mughal illumination from its Safavid counterpart before the actual content diverges, and this fondness is shown only occasionally in this Ms., indicating a comparatively early date.

British Library, London, Add.18497.

ff.246; 33 × 22cm; fine-quality polished paper; 17 lines in *Muḥaqqaq* and *Naskhī* scripts in panels ruled in gold and colours; the binding is of plain dark-brown morocco, with red doublures, with simple gold designs—at a later date cartouches were cut out on front and back, and flower and vase motifs impressed, presumably not in India.

Bibliography: BM 1871, No.808. BL 1976, p.80.

### 54 'Hamzanāma'

Illustrated on p.76.

The Romance of Amīr Hamza (see No.33).

Although this vast epic was not unknown in India, as it is one of the few surviving Sultanate manuscripts, it seems strange for the young Akbar to have chosen to have it illustrated on such a vast scale, as its theme of the slaughter of infidels is foreign to his tolerant nature. Perhaps it was the heroic exploits and deeds of derring-do which appealed to the youngster. However, we know from both Badā'unī's and Abu'l Fazl's accounts that work on it took 15 years, that it consisted of 1,400 paintings on large sheets of cloth bound in 14 (or 12) volumes, and that it was finished some time before 1582. Pramod Chandra has rigorously analysed all the literary evidence on the dating of the work and we follow him in assigning as early a date as possible to it, c.1562–77. Of the just over 100 surviving paintings, a few have five lines of text on blue and white paper pasted above and below the painting on the obverse, but the majority have full-size paintings on the obverse, and the text in 19 lines on paper pasted on the reverse. The attempt to integrate text

and painting would be a Persian rather than an Indian concern, and indeed it may originally have been intended to have many fewer paintings and more text pages. This was quickly abandoned in favour of the Indian approach to illustrated manuscripts which was seen in all the *Candāyana* manuscripts (Nos.34, 45, 46) and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (No.36), of full-page illustrations with text on the reverse. Although manuscripts on paper on such a large scale are not unknown to the Iranian tradition (the dispersed early 16th-century *Fāhnāma* is of similar size), while for a large Persian painting on cloth Akbar needed have looked no further than the so-called *Princes of the House of Tīmūr* painted probably in Kabul for his father, we follow Skelton in believing that it was the Indian practice of painting on large square pieces of cloth (*paṭa*) which finally determined the format of the manuscript. Many of the Hindu artists who flocked to the Mughal studio must have earned their living as painters of the *picchais* (cloth-paintings) which in later centuries are exemplified by the Nathdwara tradition but which must have been practised in all the Vaishnava centres of Braj and Mathura, the original home of the Nathdwara image, between Delhi and Agra. Totally unused to painting on paper, they would have taken to cloth as their natural medium.

Michael Rogers has recently drawn attention to the chaotic state of the text pasted on the reverse of the cloth, and firmly dismisses the idea of public recitation of the *Ḥamzanāma* text with the painting held up by the reciter, by showing that, at least for those in the British Museum, there is no necessary connection between text and painting. However, on one of the most beautiful and best preserved of the pages, Elias rescuing Nūr ad-Dahr, the painting is numbered 85 and the text 86, so that the text was meant to be read in conjunction with the facing painting. The paintings must then have been intended to be looked at in book format, and hence bound up. The surviving paintings are in a mixture of cloth and card frames, none of them probably original, but now cut down even further.

British Museum, London, 1925, 9-29,01.

Provenance: Gift of the Rev. Straton Campbell.

1 folio; 68 × 52cm; cloth, mounted in card frame, with margins painted in orange, white and blue; on obverse, painting 68 × 52cm, on reverse 19 lines of large *Nasta'liq* on gold-flecked creamy-brown paper, pasted on the cloth.

Bibliography: BM 1976, pp.24-8. Glück 1925. Grube 1969 (with locations of extant pages and bibliography). KC 1976, pp.236-7. Rogers 1980-81, pp.20-6.

## 55 'Gulistān'

COLOUR PLATE XIX

The Rose-garden, a collection of moral tales, one of the most famous works of Persian literature, by Muslīh ad-Dīn Sa'dī (c.585-690/1189-1291). Illustrated manuscripts of the work are extremely common, both from Iran and India (see Nos.58, 80, 138).

The Ms. was copied by Mīr 'Alī al-Husaynī at Bokhara in 975/1567-8 in elegant *Ta'liq*, and has six miniatures in a Bokhara-influenced style apparently contemporary with the text (four of which are signed by Shahm), and seven in a Mughal style of about 1600-10. An origin for the Bokharan paintings in the Mughal studio would seem to be indicated by the portrait of Akbar (f.30a) shown enthroned in young manhood (he was 24 in 1567), the Indian costume and features of many of the figures, the Indian style of architecture (arches with scalloped outlines), and the inscription on two of the paintings reading 'it was ordered in the days of the prosperity of the great king Jalāl ad-Dīn Muhammad Akbar, may Allah perpetuate his kingship and sovereignty'. Additionally a painting in the *Anvār-i Suhaylī* of 1570, of undoubted Mughal provenance, is in the very same style of Bokhara and almost certainly by Shahm himself (see No.57). The six paintings are all of larger size than the text panels, and in all but one case have no text included on them, so that there is no difficulty in supposing them to have been added to the Ms. on its arrival from Bokhara. It has been suggested by some scholars that the paintings as well as the manuscript were done in Bokhara itself, as a present intended for Akbar from the Shaybanid Sultan.<sup>1</sup> This explanation however presents historical difficulties. The years 1564-7 were those in which the Uzbek rebellion was at its height; the Sultan of Bokhara was the leader of all the Uzbeks as well as being the descendant of those who had driven Akbar's grandfather Bābur out of Transoxiana. It is unlikely therefore that Akbar would have been sent such a present at such a time. Nor is it apparent how Akbar's appearance would have been known in Bokhara, or the details of Mughal court costume, while the painting in the *Anvār-i Suhaylī* remains unexplained.

British Library, London, Or.5302.

ff.128; 34 × 22cm; paper; text in *Ta'liq* in double-columns on panels of gold-sprinkled light-beige paper 20 × 12cm, framed in dark-blue margins embellished with floral arabesques with outer margins of dark brown polished paper of the 19th century; brilliant *'unvān*; 13 miniatures almost full page; rebound in Persia in library of Fath 'Alī Shāh (1771-1834), with portraits of himself on both covers (now kept separately); modern binding.

Bibliography: BM 1968, p.44. BL 1977, p.147. BM 1976, pp.23-4. P. Chandra 1976, p.73, plates 37-8. Robinson 1967, pp.108-9.

<sup>1</sup> Shahm is known to have worked for Sultan 'Abd al-Aziz in Bokhara.

## 56 'Duval Rānī Khizr Khān'

COLOUR PLATE XX

The story of Duval Rānī and Khizr Khān, a Persian romantic poem by Amīr Khusraw. The poet was born in 1253 in Patiala, his father a Turkish officer and his mother an Indian. He was the greatest exponent of the so-called 'Indian' style in Persian poetry, and he composed also in Turki and Hindi. In his varied life he served many princes of India from Delhi to Bengal, as well as being a disciple of the great Chisti saint Nizamuddīn Auliya, near whose tomb in Delhi he is buried. He died in 1324-5. In the poem Khizr Khān, the son of 'Alā ad-Dīn Khaljī (1296-1316), and Duval Rānī, the Princess of Gujarat, are in love from childhood, and eventually are united after separations; but Khizr Khān fell under his father's displeasure, and was incarcerated in Gwalior and there murdered by his brother along with Duval Rānī. The poet was asked by the prince to write of his love, and completed it after his murder.

The Ms. was copied in 976/1567 by Sultān Bāyazīd ibn Nizam. It is very much in the Bokharan tradition, and its illuminations and margins resemble closely its contemporary Ms. of the *Gulistān* (No.55). There is a brilliant opening *'unvān*, the illumination surrounding the text panels, while the stiff marginal frames are of blue or beige with gold marginal designs of arabesques, peonies, etc. Like the *Gulistān*, it may have been brought to Agra from Bokhara and had two miniatures added in Agra. The miniatures, which fill the whole page, are more Mughal in their character, and show that in 1567 the characteristic style of the *Ḥamzanāma* was already developed. In composition both owe something to Bokharan prototypes, such as those by Shahm in the *Gulistān*, but in details of colouring, landscape, human figures and architecture, they owe more to the *Ḥamzanāma* style, and demonstrate that that Ms. must have been begun some while before this date.

National Museum, New Delhi, L.53-2/7.

Provenance: ex-Kapurthala State Collection.

ff.157; 32 × 21cm; creamy-brown paper for text, with borders in blue or beige; 14 lines of *Ta'liq* in two columns in panels 19 × 9.5cm with margins ruled in gold and colours; headings in gold and black; *shamsa*, with seals, and *ārszādas* on f.1a; *'unvān* on ff.1b, 2a; marginal designs in gold; two full-page miniatures; oriental covers.



57 f.222. The impetuous king kills his favourite hawk unaware that it was warning him of a spring fouled by a dead dragon.

Bibliography: Chandra 1976, p.72 and plates 35-6. MIC, pp.96-7.

## 57 'Anvār-i Suhaylī'

The Lights of Canopus, by Husayn Vā'iz Kāshifī (see No.49).

This text was especially popular in the Mughal court, two imperial-quality manuscripts being prepared for Akbar and one for Jahāngir. The earliest, this one, is dated 978/1570-1, and with the *Duval Rānī Khizr Khān* (No.56) is a key document for our understanding of the development of the *Ḥamzanāma* style, as they stand about midway in the 15 years that it took to complete that manuscript. Most of the 27 paintings are in a style to be expected from the artists of the *Ḥamzanāma*, the same characteristics of human and animal types, landscape and architecture. The typical *Ḥamzanāma* face with its round appearance and slightly pop-eyed expression, with the further eye of faces in three-quarter profile extending slightly beyond the curve of the face, is here in abundance. The possibilities of recession in landscape are not yet hinted at, as a wall of trees or rocks always closes off the middleground. However, in addition to this *Ḥamzanāma* type, there are two others. In one, of which there are two paintings, the style of Bokhara is immediately apparent, and there can be little doubt that the artist of the first painting is Shahm who painted the six Bokhara-style paintings in the *Gulistān* of 1567 (No.55). The six paintings of the *Gulistān* and the two of the *Duval Rānī Khizr Khān* are all full-page paintings

without any text panels, and certainly in the latter manuscript the borders round the paintings are not the same as those round the text panels. If these paintings were all added, then their dates are not fixed at the colophon's dates of 1567 and 1568, but certainly the evidence of the *Anvār-i Suhaylī* suggests that they must have been added at about the same time. There is also in this manuscript a small group of paintings with the people in a slightly more refined version of the *Ḥamzanāma* style which links closely with those in the *Duval Rānī Khizr Khān*, for example the paintings of the king who killed his favourite hawk on f.222a and the king of Hindustan who had his elephants trample the perfidious Brahmins on f.320b.

The *Anvār-i Suhaylī* is the earliest Mughal manuscript available to us which shows the Mughal artists getting to grips with the problems of extending their paintings beyond the text panels, while trying to integrate both paintings and text fully into the overall design. There are several paintings in which the illustration is a simple rectangle within the text panel with a few lines of text above and below. The usual means of enlargement is to extend either of the lower panel's horizontal margins sideways, and the inner vertical margin upwards, into the border almost to the edge, and painting in most of the intervening border. This is quite usual form for the Mughal manuscripts of the 1580s but here we can see the process being worked out. The marginator had normally drawn his vertical margins round the text panels before the artist had started work, and these were simply overpainted. The main focus of the composition is often within the original area in the text panel, and the painting in the borders added perhaps as an afterthought simply extends the composition with minor detail, such as an outer courtyard to the side or roofs and a sky above. The earlier large paintings moreover show experimental variation—on folio 36a the painting includes the spine area of the border, as well as two other sides; on f.93b, the upper rulings of the text panel are retained even though there is no text; on ff.36a and 75a the upper areas including the sky of the border portion of the paintings are painted straight out to the edges of the page, with only the lower portions contained within an outer margin. These means of extending the space for painting worked out in this Ms. served the studio well for the next 20 or so years. Compared with later manuscripts, it is overmarginated to the detriment of the pictorial composition. Despite never having been remargined, none of the paintings is attributed. It is with the *Dārāb-nāma* (No.59) that this process began.

Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, MS.10102.

Provenance: Gift of Miss Ousely, 1921.

ff.339; 33.5 × 21.5cm; paper, speckled brown, smooth and creamy; 19 lines in panels 21 × 11.5cm with margins ruled in blue, green and gold; one *sarlavḥ*, with *ansa* of broad, gold strapwork; 27 miniatures, unattributed, some within text panels, but most about two thirds of the page; border drawings of animals sketched in some folios; Indian 18th-century covers, rebacked.

Bibliography: AIP, No.636, f.181b in colour. Barrett and Gray 1963, pp.80-2, f.183b in colour. S.C. Welch 1978, plate 4. P. Chandra 1976, pp.72-4, plates 39-42.

## 58 'Gulistān'

Illustrated on p.77.

The Rose-garden of Sa'dī (see No.55), copied by Muhammad Husayn al-Kashmīrī Zarīn Qalam at Fathpur Sikri in 990/1581.

The text of the *Gulistān* is in an elegant *Ta'liq* in panels of gold-sprinkled biscuit coloured paper, each panel usually being divided up by gold double margins in various formats. Within the margins thus created are painted exquisitely detailed birds, about two thousand in all, together with occasional animals—rabbits, lynx, cheetahs, goats and the mythical simurgh and kilin. The Ms. was remargined at a later date—the outer margins are all in blue and covered with designs in two tones of gold—animals, birds, plants and landscapes, and abstract designs. On the colophon page is a self-portrait by the artist Manohar, son of Basāvan, and the calligrapher Muhammad Husayn.

The portrait shows a handsome man of about 40, smiling slightly and approvingly at the youthful painter Manohar who is concentrating on filling his pen. Manohar was presumably allowed the privilege of a self-portrait here on the basis of having done the work of illuminating the Ms.; the inscription simply says 'the work of Manohar' referring either to the portrait or to the whole book. Although there are several examples from the early Jahāngiri period of miniature birds being added to earlier manuscripts (see No.76), there is no reason to doubt that the birds in this *Gulistān* are contemporary with the Ms., as the layout of the text presupposes the inclusion of decoration in various places at the beginning of and in the middles of lines, as well as at the end.

It has been suggested that the colophon portrait, unique in Akbar-period Mss., might have been added in the early Jahāngir period when several artists' portraits were painted (see Nos.65, 72),



Manohar, by then one of the great artists of the studio, having deliberately painted a portrait of himself as he was 25 years before; but this seems inherently unlikely, especially as the style of this scene seems very much work of the 1580s. It is easy to imagine the young Manohar, who was about 15 at the time, and son of the great painter Basāvan, being very much a favourite in the imperial studio and being allowed to paint this colophon page as a reward for what must have been an enormous amount of hard work on the birds and animals in the body of the text. Delicate and restrained at the beginning, towards the end of the volume they culminate in flocks of 20 large birds per page in vivid shades of green and blue.

Royal Asiatic Society, London, Persian MS.258.

ff.130; 31 × 20cm; gold-sprinkled biscuit-coloured paper in panels with outer margins of blue paper with designs in gold; panels of text 22 × 13cm; 12 lines of *Ta'liq*; bird and animal portraits scattered through the text; colophon portrait of artist and scribe on f.128b; splendidly illuminated *sarlavḥ*; modern binding.

Bibliography: RAS 1892, No.258. AIP, p.143 and plate 121 [the colophon page, f.128a]. A. Welch 1979, No.76 and colour plate of the colophon page.

## 59 'Dārābnāma'

COLOUR PLATE XVIII

The story of Dārāb, son of Zāl, and the grandfather in the Islamic tradition of Alexander the Great, by Abu Tāhir Tarasūsī. It is based on episodes of the *Shāhnāma*, and expands greatly on the original stories by Firdausi.

This particular copy is one of the most enigmatic of Mughal manuscripts. It is only a fragment of the work (dealing with the story of Dārāb, and not going on to the story of his grandson, Iskandar, Alexander the Great, with which the work is mainly concerned), and lacks details of scribe and provenance. Its 157 paintings are mostly attributed, some to the most famous of Akbar's artists including those specially picked out by Abu'l Fazl—Basāvan, Kesu, Mādhū, Jagan, Mahesh, Tārā, and Sānvlah—while other famous artists who contributed to it include Nānhā, Miskīn and Dharmdās. It includes masterpieces of the mid-Akbari style, as well as amazingly crude and unsophisticated work. The variety of work represented in the Ms. both in the level of sophistication and degree of Mughalization displayed by different artists, as well as within the spread of work attributed to the same artists, argues that it was in production over a quite long span of time, and that it was probably used also

as a trial Ms. for newly recruited artists. In some folios the appearance of the women is not far removed from that in the Cleveland Museum *Ṭūṭīnāma*, and datable to the 1570s. Nānhā has contributed a few paintings in this style. He has also contributed some of the most stylistically advanced paintings datable to the late 1580s, contemporary with his work in the Timūr Ms. in Patna (e.g. f.24a and 67a)<sup>1</sup>. Sānvlah contributes one painting in an early style but his work mostly covers a shorter time span towards the end of the Ms.'s production, most of it, like the lovely polo scene on f.11b<sup>2</sup> in a lightly coloured style, almost a tinted drawing. The famous painting by Basāvan (f.34a) with its virtuoso use of foreshortening<sup>3</sup> is no different in treatment from his study of the shaikh and the dervish in the Bodleian *Bahārīstān* (No.64) and may be assigned to the early 1590s. An additional complication is the extremely crude work done by two artists, Ibrāhīm Lahorī (who is to be distinguished carefully from Ibrāhīm Kahār) and Kālū Lahorī. Both display a feeble line, crude and garish colouring, an elongation of their figures, and a decided tendency for the further eye in three-quarter profile to protrude into space. The similarity of their work and their common *nishbah* of Lahorī argues that the style was that practised in pre-Mughal Lahore, although no Sultanate manuscript is known in which it appears. It is possible that on the removal of the capital from Fathpur Sikri to Lahore in 1585 some local artists were recruited to swell the ranks of the studio. Neither is heard of again and they must have been dropped very quickly!

Another puzzle is the work attributed to some of those artists distinguished by Abu'l Fazl as the greatest in the studio—Mahesh, Jagan, Tārā, and Kesu. Their work is good, but not outstanding. On the other hand they all contributed very good paintings to the Jaipur *Razmnāma*, so that their work in the *Dārābnāma* must be attributed to a time some years before that Ms., which was begun in 1584. Miskīn was sufficiently advanced to be employed as a second artist on many of the *Razmnāma*'s pages, and as a sole artist on the Timūr Ms., as was Dharmdās on the latter; both of their careers blossomed fully in the 1590s, and their work in the *Dārābnāma*, competent but not distinguished, must belong to its earliest layer of composition.

At least two of the artists in the *Dārābnāma* betray influences which argue that they came from the Deccan—these are Nānhā and Mādhū Khurd (Madhu the younger). Nānhā throughout his career hints at his origin, in his love of certain colour combinations, but here it is in his swinging robes as well. This is also seen in some of the work of Mādhū Khurd, particularly f.74a, where the influence is

strong-enough to pinpoint his origin in Ahmadnagar.<sup>4</sup>

The Ms. is very incomplete, and breaks off abruptly. The numbers on the folios go up to 160, of which only 129 are present, while those on the paintings go up to 200, of which only 157 survive. The loss of the part of the text dealing with Alexander occurred at some time before it entered the royal library in Oudh, the vermilion stamps of which are impressed on the verso of the last folio. The earliest of these stamps appears to be dated 1244/1828–9.

British Library, London, Or.4615.

ff.129; 35.5 × 23cm; creamy-brown paper, unburnished; text in 25 lines of *Nasta'liq* in panels 23.5 × 14cm ruled in gold and colours; a fine *sarlavḥ*, much faded, with miniatures on both opening pages; 157 miniatures, mostly attributed (for list see BL 1977, pp.8–11)—the miniatures vary in size considerably, and are extended into the margins in all directions from the text panel, which is often divided in two by a portion of the miniature; only those near the beginning include all three margins, the largest measuring 34 × 19.5cm; many repairs; attributions in red in a large hand at foot of miniatures, some cut off in a rebinding; European covers.

Bibliography: BM 1895, p.241. BL 1977, pp.8–11. BM 1976, p.29. Barrett and Gray 1963, pp.84–6. S. Welch 1978, pp.48–51 (colour ills. of f.3b and 34a).

<sup>1</sup>Folio 67a actually is inscribed Kānhā not Nānhā. However, on examination of their work, it is clear that the two are identical, as the style is very individual. The artist's Hindu name must have included the word Jnāna, pronounced either Gyāna or Nyāna in northern India, for which the clerk noting the name could write either Gānhā (*gāf* always being written *kāf* by the Mughal scribes) or Nānhā.

<sup>2</sup>Reproduced by Binyon and Arnold 1921, plate VII.

<sup>3</sup>S. Welch 1978, plate 6.

<sup>4</sup>Losty 1982, plate 2; cf. the portrait of Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar reproduced by Barrett 1958, plate 5.

## 60 'Ṭūṭīnāma'

COLOUR PLATE XXII

The Tales of a Parrot, by Ziyā ad-Dīn Nakhshabī from Nakhshab in Central Asia, and who lived in Badā'un under the Khaljī and Tughluq dynasties of Delhi. The Tales of a Parrot is a Persian reworking of an earlier translation from the Sanskrit *Śukasaptati*, 70 Tales of a Parrot, one of the classics of Sanskrit prose, which is of early medieval date and exists in two separate versions. The amusing tales are told by a pet parrot to a lady whose husband is away, in order to prevent her from finding consolation elsewhere. The version by Nakhshabī is of 52 tales, some of them new substitutions, and was completed in 730/1329–30.

The earliest work completed in Akbar's studio was a copy of this work, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art. This second

version in a more advanced and unified style was made about 1580. It is incomplete in its present state, and various miniatures are known from other collections in addition to the 103 in the Chester Beatty portion. As with the *Dārābnāma* (No.59), it appears to be in some ways an apprentice work, possibly trying out new artists, and in among the general run of somewhat crudely coloured and charming apprentice work, the hand of a master is suddenly apparent. The Ms. was however remargined at a rebinding and lacks all attributions to artists. The paintings mostly surround the text panels on three sides and occupy often the central portion, characteristics of the Mughal school first seen in the 1570 *Anwār-i Suhaylī* (No.57); often however, they are large-scale paintings without any text at all, and this would appear to be the first general appearance (excepting the gigantic *Ḥamzanāma*, No.54) in the Mughal studio of this trend, the gradual change from the Persian to the Indian concept of book illustration.

Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ind. MS.21.

Provenance: Acquired in 1836 by J.F. Allard, Generalissimo to Ranjit Singh, Maharaja of Lahore and passed to Baron F.S. Feuille de Conches.

ff.143; 24.4 × 16.3cm; light, polished paper; 15 lines of *Nasta'liq* in panels about 14 × 8cm; verses within gold ruled margins in panels; remargined in 18th-century paper, with an additional blue line round panels; 103 paintings, some almost full page; 18th-century Indian lacquered binding.

Bibliography: AIP, p.142 (repro. of ff.14a and 38b). James 1981, No.47. Barrett and Gray 1963, pp.82–3, with col. repro. P. Chandra 1976, pp.60–1, figs.47–59. IP, p.4, for a leaf from this Ms. and references to others; the dispersal of the leaves would appear to have occurred at some time after the 18th-century remargining.

## 61 'Khamṣa' of Nizāmī

COLOUR PLATE XXIII

The Five Poems of the Persian poet Nizāmī (see No.44). The poems are Nizāmī's five great *masnavīs*, often copied together. This exquisite little copy of the famous classic of Persian literature is the earlier of the two surviving copies prepared for Akbar (see also No.65), the later one being a sumptuous full-scale manuscript in the Lahore manner of 1595. The earlier manuscript was copied in Yazd in Iran by 'Alī ibn Mubārak al-Fahraji from 907/1502 to 912/1506. All traces of ownership earlier than the 20th century have vanished, so that there is no means of telling how it found its way from Yazd to the Mughal studio, but there in the late 1580s it had 35 miniatures painted in the

spaces which had been left by the original scribe specifically for this purpose.

The Ms. has survived almost intact from this period, with numerous interesting notes on the borders which have mostly escaped the binder's knife, and from them, as Skelton points out, we can learn a great deal about how checks were kept on artists' work. A note at the foot of the miniature records the date and the number of days spent on the miniature, which was meant to be erased subsequently by the marginator. Further notes on the corner of the page or the side record the name(s) of the artist(s). The court librarian from these notes wrote the names of those responsible for the work in red below each painting, assigning it a number. This was done before the work went to the binder, who was supposed to trim the edges and remove the surplus notes, but this has not always happened here. Finally, some of the attributions in red have been erased and rewritten in black, which look as if they also belong to the Akbar period and are perfectly authentic. Perhaps because he was dealing with an already existing Ms., the marginator was not always able to do his work properly. The text panels already had margins ruled in gold and blue, the scribe originally envisaging paintings contained within his text panels, with script usually above and below. However, the more ambitious of the artists involved, Basāvan, La'l and Farrukh Beg, have extended their paintings around the text on two or three of the sides, removing some of the original margins in the process. The marginator has for the most part ignored these new edges, leaving them untidy, and confined his attention to the margins of some of the smaller miniatures.

The method of work revealed by the attributions is that of sharing, this being the only major non-historical work in which this Mughal characteristic of joint production is evident. This by itself indicates a date in the 1580s, when the work of producing the great historical and Hindu works was in full swing. The style is largely simple, fresh and vivid, without the grandeur of the 1590s Mss., but also without their rigidity. The presence in the Ms. of the work of Farrukh Beg indicates that it must be dated after his arrival in India from Iran in 1585, so that a date in the period 1585–90 seems most probable.

The subjects of the miniatures were already chosen by the original scribe in Yazd, who left blanks at the traditional places. Even so, many of the miniatures betray a knowledge of the traditional Iranian compositions for these subjects, which indicates that some of the artists must have had an Iranian model in front of them. This knowledge is to be expected in Farrukh Beg, but not in Hindu artists such as La'l, Mukund and Tārā.

The Keir Collection, Pontresina, Switzerland.

Provenance: collections of Lord Brabourne (1937) and A.C. Ardeshir.

ff.356; 16.2 × 10cm; paper, creamy-brown; 21 lines of *Nasta'liq* in four columns, in panels 10 × 5.7cm, within margins ruled in gold and blue; six *sarlavḥs* in gold and colours; 35 miniatures, all attributed (see KC 1976 for artists' names), some almost full page, others smaller than the text panels; 18th-century Indian binding.

Bibliography: KC 1976, pp.238–48, with repros. in colour and black and white. Ardeshir 1940. Sotheby, 10 July 1973, lot 7.

## 62 'Bāburnāma'

Illustrated on p.78.

The memoirs of the Emperor Bābur (1526–30), founder of the Mughal dynasty in India, composed originally in Chagatay Turki during Bābur's eventful life, from 1494 at the age of 12 till his death in 1530.

Bābur's grandson Akbar who spoke Turki as his mother-tongue had the work translated into Persian for his courtiers to be able to understand better this remarkable man. The translation is officially by 'Abd ar-Rahīm Khānkhānān, although doubtless in fact the work was done by a team of scholars at his celebrated library. Four major illustrated versions of the Akbar period are known, whose inter-relationships have been traced by Smart. The earliest is now held to be the dispersed Ms. represented mostly by folios in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the official version presented to Akbar in 1589 at the conclusion of the translation. Three other copies were produced in the 1590s—this one, in the British Library, about 1590; a slightly later one divided between the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore and the Moscow State Museum of Eastern Cultures (No.63); and a third dated 1597–8 now in the National Museum in Delhi. Another in the Alwar Museum (No.108) with 20 paintings appears to be in part a Ms. of the 1590s with half its paintings and much of the text added about 1800. Smart has established the sequence of the Mss. through the iconography, the earliest following the text most minutely, the later ones being based on the earlier paintings with consequent dislocation of the text or miscomprehension of crucial details of the earlier paintings.

The British Library Ms. is nearest to the original and has fewest of this kind of faults. It is also the largest in scale, and many of the well-known Akbari artists worked on it—Farrukh Chela, Manohar, Nānhā, Shīvdās, Tulsi, Sānvlah, Jagannāth, Narsingh, Mansūr. Fifty-four

separate artists are named in the attributions, while five paintings lack any attribution. The trio of Basāvan, Miskīn, and Laʿl who contributed so heavily to the composition of the 1589 *Bāburnāma*, and to the earlier historical and Hindu manuscripts, are conspicuous by their absence, a fact which may lead us to the conclusion that they were too busily engaged with the composition of the *Akbar-nāma* at this time to be spared, and thus confirming the date of c.1590. In the double-page compositions of this *Bāburnāma*, there is a certain uneasiness between the two halves which are almost invariably the work of two different artists, unlike the 1589 *Bāburnāma* and the *Akbar-nāma* where the composition of both halves is the work of the one master artist. Although the general illustrative pattern of the 1589 manuscript is followed throughout, it is not slavishly copied; many of the paintings show slightly later or earlier moments in the same story, while in others a single-page painting is expanded to a double, or vice versa.

Ellen Smart has pointed out that the Ms. has suffered the removal of some of its paintings, in particular half of the double-page compositions. This probably happened about 1800, in the large scale 're-furbishment' of the imperial library; the gaps were cleverly concealed by cutting up the text on the other side of the folio (invariably double-sheets) and mounting it on the bias surrounded by added arabesques. The *'unwān* also belongs to this period, surrounding the original opening of the text, and the covers, which have since been removed.

British Library, London, Or.3714.

ff.528; 32 × 19cm; creamy-brown paper, original, with lighter coloured additions; 12 lines of large *Nastaʿlīq* in panels 20.5 × 10cm, with margins ruled in gold and colours; 143 miniatures mostly with attributions (see BL 1977, pp.122–5) and numbers running up to 183; 70 are full-page miniatures, the remainder smaller paintings of the flora and fauna described by Bābur; double-page *'unwān*, c.1800; many folios remargined and decorated at same time, with painted covers of the same date; now in modern binding, on guards.

Bibliography: BM 1895, p.51. BL 1977, pp.122–5. BM 1976, p.37. Suleiman 1970. Beveridge 1922. Smart 1977.

63 'Bāburnāma'

Illustrated on p.79.

The Persian translation by 'Abd ar-Rahīm Khānkhānān of the memoirs of the Emperor Bābur (see No.62).

This album with 31 miniatures is part of the third Akbar-period manuscript of the work, attributable to the years 1590–5, of

which only the paintings have survived. The major part of it is in the State Museum of Eastern Cultures, Moscow. No attributions are left in the Baltimore volume, which was remargined in the 18th/19th century.

Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, W.596.

ff.31; 32.2 and 21cm; paper, remargined; original text panels 17.2 × 9cm, with 12 lines of large *Nastaʿlīq*, with margins ruled in gold and colours; 31 paintings, mostly about 24.5 × 15.5cm; 19th-century oriental binding.

Bibliography: Smart 1977. Tyulaev 1960 (repro. of the Moscow portion).

64 'Bahāristān'

COLOUR PLATE XXIV

'The Garden of spring', a collection of didactic stories in prose and verse by the Persian poet Nūr ad-Dīn 'Abd ar-Rahmān Jāmī (817–98/1414–93), who lived in Herat under the Timurid rulers. This is one of the most famous of Persian classics, composed in imitation of the earlier *Gulistān* of Sa'dī (No.55).

The court of Akbar had left Fathpur Sikri in 1585 for Lahore in the north-west of the Empire, partly because of increased military activity against the Safavid ruler of Iran. The imperial studio must have been taken also, but dated evidence of work undertaken in Lahore is not common. This manuscript of the *Bahāristān* and the *Dīvān* of Anvari of 1588, are the most substantial pieces of evidence, since the colophons of both state that they were copied in Lahore. The *Bahāristān* was copied in the 39th regnal year of Akbar (1595) by the scribe Muhammad Husayn al-Kashmīrī Zarīn Qalam' (see also Nos.58, 70). There are six paintings in the manuscript, all but one attributed—by Basāvan, Miskīn, Laʿl, Mukund and Mādhū. All the margins are sumptuously decorated in designs of gold—hunting scenes, animals, birds, landscapes etc.—while 13 of the pages have coloured figures in them also, again mostly attributed—Bālchand, Shīvdās, Khim, Akhlās and Husaynī are the artists. The *Bahāristān* is one of the 'luxury' manuscripts of the Persian classics produced for Akbar in the 1590s, exemplified also by the *Khamas* of Nizāmī (No.65) and of Amīr Khusraw (No.66). All three have suffered somewhat—the *Bahāristān* is complete, apart from its binding, and does not appear to have been remargined at all. Its 67 folios are usually pale biscuit in tone, though some are darker, and others pale tones of green, pink or blue. A gold line about a centimetre from the edge of the page encloses the marginal decorations. The original binding has vanished, and it is now bound in red velvet with gilt appendages imitating stamped leather. A

*shamsa* on the first page resembles those in the Nizāmī, and there are also inscriptions in the hands of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān.

Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Elliot 254.

ff.67; 28.5 × 17.5cm; biscuit-coloured paper, with a few folios in pastel colours; *Nastaʿlīq* script; 14 lines in panels ruled in colours and gold; six paintings; margins all decorated with gold designs, with some colours; one *shamsa*; one *sarlavh*; 19th-century red velvet binding with gilt appendages.

Bibliography: Bod. 1889, p.634. Bodleian 1953, plates 8–12, which show some of the marginal paintings.

65 'Khamsa' of Nizāmī

COLOUR PLATE XXI

The Five Poems of the Persian poet Nizāmī (see No.61).

The Nizāmī is one of the most perfect of the 'luxury' type of manuscript to have survived, even though it is now divided. The major part with 37 of the original 44 paintings is in the British Library, while a smaller section from two different parts of the text, with five paintings, is in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore. Two paintings have disappeared. Sections of the Ms. are missing from f.72 in *Khusraw va Shīrīn*, and from f.239 in the *Iskandarnāma*, where the catchwords have been erased to disguise the removals. Of the original 44 paintings, those numbered 12 and 27 to 32 are thus missing, of which Nos.12 and 29 to 32 are in Baltimore. All of these paintings are attributed to master artists of the imperial studio. The last and 45th painting, unnumbered, on the colophon page shows the scribe 'Abd ar-Rahīm Ambarīn Qalam, and the self-portrait of the artist Daulat, complete with apparatus for calligraphy and painting, and an inscription dedicated to Jahāngīr. This painting must therefore have been added after 1605, and appears to date from about 1610. Daulat is not among the artists who painted the 42 surviving miniatures, so it may be presumed he painted at least one of the two missing ones. Artists who contributed to the Ms. include 'Abd as-Samad, in his last-known dated work, Nānhā, Laʿl, Dharmdās, Sānvlah, and Miskīn.

The margins of this Ms. are all differently illuminated in various tones of gold, depicting principally animals and birds in landscapes—hunting, resting, running. Other pages have arabesque or geometric designs, usually so when surrounding the paintings. The sheer invention of these marginal designs is staggering; although the themes remain the same, the details are always different. A heavy outline in gold of one shade provides a shape to be filled with gold of

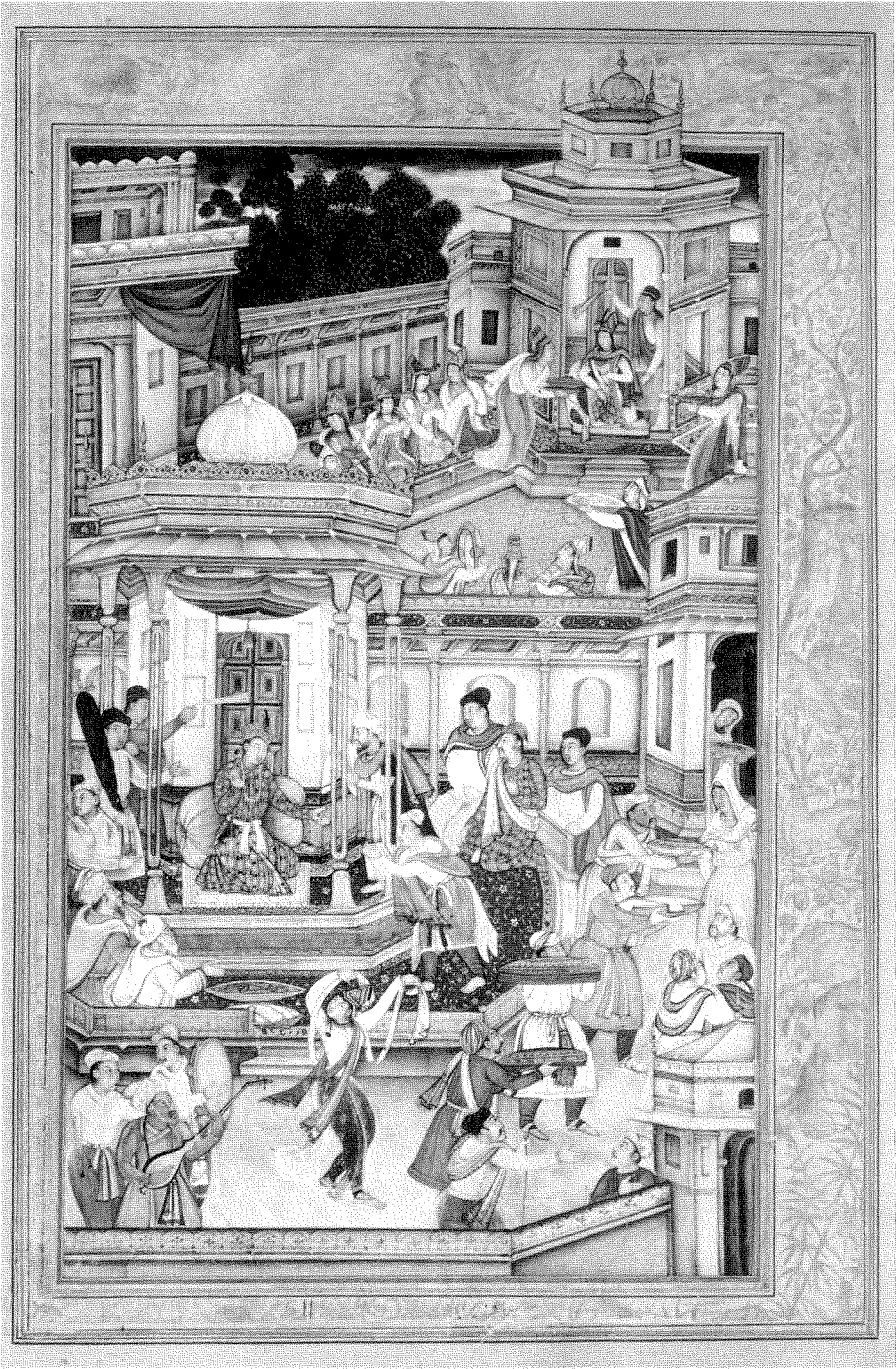
different shades, always lines, never washed in, to produce modelling and shading. All these designs have suffered slightly in remargining. The folios have been trimmed and let into panels of paper of darker hue, and new outer margins in green and gold provided, as well as a slightly wrong wavy gold outer line. Originally they would have terminated most probably in a single gold line, as in the *Bahāristān*. The remargining, which must have been done in Europe at the turn of the century, has possibly caused us to lose the names of the artists who did these margins, information that is preserved in the *Bahāristān* and Amīr Khusraw's *Khamsa* (No.66). The illuminations are a joy for their brilliance and inventiveness. There are six headpieces of different shape (two of them signed by Khvāja Jān, see also No.66) progressively more inventive in content, culminating with the one on f.285b with two swooping simurghs. There are no less than eight glorious *shamsas*, again all different. Finally there are the covers, painted and lacquered. On the outsides in a central panel are designs in gold of simurghs, dragons and deer in a landscape; on the doublures are paintings of the Emperor Akbar receiving game after a hunt, and as a young man hunting. The doublures are slightly damaged, while the outer covers are in perfect condition; the probability is that they were reversed in a restoration. The covers of the *Khamsa* of Amīr Khusraw of 1597 have the figural subjects on the outside covers, and the fantastic designs as the doublures. At some stage ownership seals and inscriptions on the recto of the title-page have been defaced. A manuscript of this exceptional quality should have had imperial seals and inscriptions, and in fact the upper inscription is dated 102[–?]/161[1–9]; the lower one is too badly defaced to yield any information. A pear-shaped seal, of the same shape as that of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzib, in the centre of the *shamsa* has been covered with gold, and a round seal near the upper inscription has been erased.

British Library, London, Or.12208.

Provenance: bequeathed by C.W. Dyson-Perrins.

ff.325; 30 × 19.5cm; light-brown polished paper; four columns of *Nastaʿlīq* script in panels 19.5 × 10.7cm with gold margins; outer margins with designs in gold 26.8 × 15.8cm laid into frames of darker brown with added margins in green, blue and gold; 38 paintings ascribed to artists (see BL 1977), varying in size; six *sarlavhs* and eight *shamsas* in colours and gold; original lacquered bindings, restored at edges, black leather spine.

Bibliography: Martin 1912, plates 178–81. BM 1968, p.75. BL 1977, pp.142–3. BM 1976, p.57. Brown 1924, plates XVIII,



66 f.8o. The quarreling Khusraw and Shīrīn hold separate celebrations. By 'Alī Qulī.

xxxvi–vii, xl. T.J. Brown etc. 1961. Warner 1920. S. Welch 1960.

66 'Khamsa' of Amīr Khusraw Dihlavi

The quintet of *masnavī* poems composed in imitation of the quintet of Nizāmī by Amīr Khusraw of Delhi (see No.56)

This manuscript of the *Khamsa*, like its companion poetical manuscripts of the 1590s from Lahore, originally had painted and lacquered covers, superb illuminations, marginal paintings on all the folios, and highly finished miniatures.

The *Khamsa* has preserved all of these features, but has lost some of its paintings and had the edges of some of the marginal paintings cut off in a rebinding. Many of the attributions have also been cut off. The calligrapher is Muhammad Husayn al-Kashmīrī Zarīn Qalam, who also copied the 1595 *Bahāristān* (No.64). It is a few years later than its companion *Khamsa* of Nizāmī, being dated in the 42nd *Ilahi* year of Akbar (1597–8), and in it the scale of the paintings is somewhat more ambitious—landscapes are broader, with less dependence on panels of text to